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A POPULAR  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,  
*DURING THE REIGN OF VICTORIA.*

EDITED BY

MADAME GUIZOT DE WITT,

FROM NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

BY

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*FROM THE ACCESSION OF VICTORIA.*

1837—1874.

EDITED BY MADAME GUIZOT DE WITT,

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By M. GUIZOT,

AUTHOR OF "A POPULAR HISTORY OF FRANCE," "A POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND,"  
"THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION," ETC.

TRANSLATED BY M. M. RIPLEY.

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# A POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND

DURING THE REIGN OF VICTORIA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE ACCESSION.

**K**ING WILLIAM IV. was dead (June 20, 1837), and the Princess Victoria, the only child of the Duke of Kent, fourth son of King George III., became queen of England. This was something more than the close of one royal life and the dawn of a new reign. Without the foundations of society or of the throne being shaken, without the occurrence of any of those dangerous shocks which exhaust and shorten a nation's life, it was the opening of a new era in the career of England. Henceforth the sovereign was to advance freely with the nation in a more liberal and sometimes even a venturesome path. Queen Victoria was to accept simply and frankly the place made for her by her country's progress in consequence of the Reform Bill and the increasing authority of the House of Commons; without relinquishing her rightful share in the government, — a share more real and more important than has often been believed, — she was never to embarrass the truly sovereign action of the country itself in the conduct of its own affairs. She was destined to become, *par excellence*,

that which she to-day is, for the happiness and greatness of England, — the constitutional sovereign of a free country; unreservedly and avowedly admitting the operation of those parliamentary institutions, the slow product of ages in England's history, which all nations have sought and are still vainly seeking to imitate.

The Princess Victoria was eighteen years of age; brought up far from the court by her widowed mother, she was almost unknown to those even whose duty it was to announce to the new queen her accession. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the lord chamberlain arrived at five in the morning at Kensington palace, where the Duchess of Kent resided. All the gates were shut, and it was with some difficulty that they obtained admittance to the presence of the princess, awakened suddenly by their message.

At eleven o'clock the Council met, and the young queen presided. Mr. Charles Greville, secretary of the Privy Council, has related, with an amiability unusual to him, this first entrance of the sovereign upon her public duties:

"The king died at twenty minutes after two, yesterday morning, and the young queen met the council at Kensington Palace, at eleven. Never was anything like the first impression she produced, or the chorus of praise and admiration which is raised about her manner and behavior, and certainly not without justice. It was very extraordinary, and something far beyond what was looked for. Her extreme youth and inexperience, and the ignorance of the world concerning her, naturally excited intense curiosity to see how she would act on this trying occasion, and there was a considerable assemblage at the palace, notwithstanding the short notice which was given. The first thing to be done was to teach her her lesson, which, for this purpose, Melbourne had himself to learn. . . . She bowed to the lords, took her seat, and then read







VICTORIA AT THE AGE OF EIGHT.



THE YOUTHFUL QUEEN

her speech in a clear, distinct, and audible voice, and without any appearance of fear or embarrassment. She was quite plainly dressed, and in mourning. After she had read her speech, and taken and signed the oath for the security of the Church of Scotland, the privy councillors were sworn, the two royal dukes first, by themselves; and as these two old men, her uncles, knelt before her, swearing allegiance and kissing her hand, I saw her blush up to the eyes, as if she felt the contrast between their civil and their natural relations; and this was the only sign of emotion which she evinced. Her manner to them was very graceful and engaging; she kissed them both, and rose from her chair, and moved toward the Duke of Sussex, who was farthest from her, and too infirm to reach her. She seemed rather bewildered at the multitude of men who were sworn, and who came, one after another, to kiss her hand; but she did not speak to anybody, nor did she make the slightest difference in her manner, or show any in her countenance, to any individual of any rank, station, or party. I particularly watched her when Melbourne and the ministers, and the Duke of Wellington, and Peel, approached her. She went through the whole ceremony, occasionally looking at Melbourne for instruction when she had any doubt what to do, which hardly ever occurred, with perfect calmness and self-possession, but at the same time with a graceful modesty and propriety particularly interesting and ingratiating."

"If she had been my own daughter, I could not have wished her to do better," said the Duke of Wellington. The admiration felt by the principal personages of the kingdom, first admitted to the presence of the young sovereign, rapidly spread throughout the nation; Queen Victoria was saluted with eager delight by a people who, through all the vicissitudes of a long reign, have never forgotten those first transports of affection and of joy.



The accession of the young queen to the English throne was the signal for the separation of Hanover from the crown of England. The electoral dignity of Hanover being hereditary in the male line, the territory united with England by George I. now fell to the share of the eldest of George III.'s surviving sons, the Duke of Cumberland, not long since rendered distinguished by his military achievements, but, with good reason, unpopular in England. The separation of the two crowns, however, caused no regret to the English nation, who had often found themselves entangled in continental affairs on account of the undisguised interest the Hanoverian kings had manifested in the welfare of their hereditary states. The royal house of Hanover henceforth ruled independently its two nations, nor was any one clear-sighted enough to foresee at that time the shocks which were to overthrow the more modest of these two thrones.

The coronation of the young queen did not take place until a year after her accession. On this brilliant occasion it was observed, with a satisfaction not unmingled with surprise, that the populace of London gave an enthusiastic welcome to Marshal Soult, ambassador extraordinary from Louis Philippe. He had been the last in France to fight against the English, at the battle of Toulouse, and the recollection of past feuds added a rare savor to the joys of peace. "The English cried, 'Hurrah for Soult!'" he said, some years later, in the Chamber of Deputies; "I had learned to esteem them upon the field of battle, I have learned to esteem them in peace; I am ardently a partisan of the English alliance."

Politics had not occupied a large share in the attention of the young queen, but she had been brought up under the influence of the Whigs, and on ascending the throne she found them in power. Lord Melbourne, the premier, was the least radical of his party, impartial by reason both of indifference





MARSHAL SOULT.



and of good sense, a judicious epicurean, an agreeable self-seeker, cool and gay, mingling a natural authority with a negligence which he took pleasure in carrying even to exaggeration. "I don't care," was his habitual expression. The queen soon became much attached to him ; he amused her as well as advised her, and had an affectionate freedom in his intercourse with her which was almost fatherly. The Tories soon became extremely jealous of Lord Melbourne's personal influence over the young sovereign. "We have no chance at all," said the Duke of Wellington ; "I have no small-talk, and Peel has no manners." The penetration and good sense of the queen soon taught her to recognize superior merit hidden under a cold or unattractive exterior, but she always preserved her affection for Lord Melbourne, even after the necessities of public affairs obliged her to separate from him.

The first difficulties of Queen Victoria's government arose from Canada. The population of Lower Canada had remained French in manners and habits, even after the misfortunes and faults of Louis XV. had delivered the province over to England. It had struggled long and passionately to remain faithful to that France who was not able to keep her colonies, but has left her ineffaceable stamp everywhere, and the tender memory of her rule. The colonists of Upper Canada, English in origin, whether coming directly from the mother-country, or coming in over the border from the United States, had by degrees gained an importance and taken a control in the affairs of the colony which threatened to become preponderant. The strife of rival tendencies and influences had brought about between the two populations an antagonism which manifested itself especially in the conflict of the two legislative bodies, one named by the crown, the other elected by popular suffrage. The animosity was carried so far that the representative assembly refused to vote subsidies. This legal resistance shortly be-

came open revolt, active and enduring in Lower Canada, soon and easily repressed in Upper Canada. In the latter province, Major Head, the governor, contented himself with calling out the militia and invoking the aid of all well-disposed citizens against the rebels; for the pacification of Lower Canada, all the regular troops had been required. Parliament suspended the constitution of Lower Canada, still in large measure stamped with French traditions, and the ministry appointed as governor-general Lord Durham, son-in-law of Lord Grey, and confided to him almost dictatorial powers.

The new governor of Canada had been a member of the ministry which had accomplished the work of parliamentary reform; he was ardent, eloquent, sincere in the enthusiasm of his views and of his character. His disposition was capricious, and his best friends dreaded his explosions of temper. He might save Canada, or he might ruin it. Canada was saved through the audacity of Lord Durham's measures, and the governor himself was ruined by them.

The armed rebellion had already been suppressed when the governor general arrived at Quebec, towards the close of May, 1838; the chief leaders had quitted the colony, a few others were in prison. Lord Durham perceived that it would be impossible to have them judged by the ordinary tribunals; the jury were sure to acquit them without exception. He did not institute a higher court, but, proclaiming an almost general amnesty, he excepted from it those only who had fled the country and those now in prison who had been openly implicated in acts of high treason. In the exercise of his supreme authority, he transported the prisoners to the Bermuda Islands, and pronounced sentence of death against those excepted from the amnesty who should attempt to return into the colony. In all his measures for the re-establishment of a settled government, he set aside the provisional council which had been

formed to replace the suspended laws, and ruled alone, with the assistance of his secretaries and aids-de-camp. The power which he exercised was absolute. Such was, in his mind, the mission with which he had been charged.

Parliament judged otherwise. When the news of Lord Durham's dictatorial acts reached England, the opposition seized upon them at once with an eagerness which united in the same attack Lord Brougham and Lord Lyndhurst. The ministry yielded, and disowned the acts of Lord Durham. The latter learned by an American newspaper that he had been thus cast off, and his resignation crossed on the way the official announcement that his conduct had been disapproved at home. Carried away by his resentment, the governor published a proclamation at Quebec, appealing to the sentiment of justice in the colony against the censure of the English government. His recall had become inevitable. He returned to England, deeply irritated and wounded, and never rallied from the blow which he had received. He died shortly after (in the year 1840), at the age of forty-eight, without having seen the result of his efforts in favor of a new constitution for the colony of Canada.

It was, however, Lord Durham's report, skilfully prepared by Mr. Charles Buller, which has served as the basis for the reforms made successively in the constitution of Canada, transforming it into a real federation, governing itself, in fact, and every day becoming freer and more prosperous. The work was accomplished with a prudence and a wisdom which Lord Durham never could have manifested; but it was he who first conceived the idea of it, and the system he sought to inaugurate has since then been applied to the numerous colonies of England as fast as the mighty instinct of the Anglo-Saxon race has founded them in all the seas.

It was a measure analogous to that of placing Lord Durham in command in Canada which the ministry presented in



the session of 1839, with the intention of relieving the embarrassments of the government in Jamaica. The emancipation of the blacks remained imperfect in that island; the planters composing the representative assembly of the colony found it difficult to accustom themselves to the equality which recent laws had granted to their former slaves.

The government and the legislative council protected the negroes against the oppression still practised against them, the illegality of which they themselves did not always understand. To put an end to the conflict between the two powers, the ministry proposed to suspend, for a period of five years, the constitution of the colony. This measure, necessary perhaps, but dangerously anti-liberal, was attacked simultaneously by the Tories and by a certain number of the radicals. The administration was already tottering, and a majority of only five was announced in favor of the law. The ministry resigned. The queen took counsel with the Duke of Wellington, who advised her to send for Sir Robert Peel, assuring her that the new administration would encounter its chief difficulties in the House of Commons.

The chief difficulty, however, was to arise from a different quarter; it was the queen herself who was to become the obstacle in the formation of the Tory Cabinet. Sir Robert Peel readily made his selection, and the queen offered no objection to the persons proposed, although she had never scrupled to say from the first how much she regretted the Whigs, while yielding without hesitation to the constitutional rule which required her to part with them. But the demands of Sir Robert Peel extended to the household of the queen; he felt the serious disadvantages of leaving the queen surrounded by the wives and sisters of his political opponents, and he requested the dismissal of Lady Normanby and the Duchess of Sutherland. The queen was attached to her ladies. It appeared to her that her



entire household would be forever subject to change at each change of ministry. Her pride and her affection both objected to what she considered the unreasonable claims of Sir Robert. She declined to dismiss any of her ladies. Sir Robert persisted, and finally refused to form a Cabinet. Lord Melbourne and his colleagues were recalled. The power remained in the hands of the Whigs, and the explanations given by the two parties in Parliament added to the question an importance it had not at first deserved. Some years later, by the wise advice of Prince Albert, it was decided that the ladies of the royal household who were very closely connected with the members of a retiring administration should naturally share the fate of husbands or brothers, and resign their positions. But when the matter was thus settled once for all, the queen had already in her domestic life an intimate companion whom no political oscillation could remove from her.

The ministry remained feeble in both Houses, and was violently attacked. Lord Brougham reproached the ministers bitterly with their unconstitutional complaisance. "I thought," he exclaimed, "that we belonged to a country in which the government by the crown and the wisdom of Parliament was everything, and the personal feelings of the sovereign were absolutely not to be named at the same time. . . . I little thought to have lived to hear it said by the Whigs of 1839, 'Let us rally round the queen. Never mind the House of Commons; never mind measures; throw principles to the dogs; leave pledges unredeemed; but for God's sake rally round the throne.' Little did I think the day would come when I should hear such language, not from the unconstitutional, place-hunting, king-loving Tories, who thought the public was made for the king, and not the king for the public; not from the Whigs themselves. The Jamaica Bill, said to be a most important measure, had been brought forward. The government staked

their existence upon it. They were not able to carry it; they therefore conceived they had lost the confidence of the House of Commons. They thought it a measure of paramount necessity then. Is it less necessary now? Oh, but that is altered! The Jamaica question is to be new fashioned; principles are to be given up; and all because of two ladies of the bed-chamber."

Parliamentary recriminations, whether well founded or not, and the weakness of the administration, were alike powerless to interfere with the magnificent outbursts of human thought and invention which signalled the first years of the young sovereign's reign. The change effected by the application of steam to the means of locomotion by sea and land was beginning to renew the face of the world, while no man could as yet measure its marvellous effects. Four railways were opened in England between 1837 and 1839. Navigation by steam was applied to the transatlantic voyage about the same time, and a line of steamships established between England and America. The first experiments with the electric telegraph date equally from this epoch of marvellous development of the human mind. Some time before this, the eminent mathematician, Joseph Marie Ampère, had discovered the principle and commenced the application of electricity to the transmission of news; but his experiments were still incomplete and theoretic when Professor Wheatstone and Mr. Cooke took out a patent "for improvements in giving signals and sounding alarms in distant places by means of electric currents transmitted through metallic circuits." Ariel had not yet set forth to "put a girdle round the earth in forty seconds," but his wings were already clearly to be discerned. The act ordering the transmission of the mails by railway wherever lines had been established, had scarcely been passed, in 1838, when an important reform was introduced which radically modified the post-office system in England, and

progressively throughout the entire world. The transmission of letters was expensive and difficult; for the support of the department it had been believed necessary to fix very high rates, Mr. Rowland Hill proposed to reduce the postage on letters to one penny, asserting that the immense development of letter-writing consequent upon this reduction would fill, and more than fill, the deficit arising from the reduction of the tax. He had commenced his campaign as early as 1837, and his doctrines by degrees gained proselytes. The tax levied upon letter-writing weighed most heavily upon the lower classes, who did not profit by the franking privileges afforded to members of Parliament. Miss Martineau relates how the passion of Mr. Hill for his favorite reform was excited by a little incident witnessed by one of his friends, the poet Coleridge:

“Coleridge, when a young man, was walking through the Lake district, when he one day saw the postman deliver a letter to a woman at a cottage door. The woman turned it over and examined it, and then returned it, saying she could not pay the postage, which was a shilling. Hearing that the letter was from her brother, Coleridge paid the postage, in spite of the manifest unwillingness of the woman. As soon as the postman was out of sight, she showed Coleridge how his money had been wasted as far as she was concerned. The sheet was blank. There was an agreement between her brother and herself, that as long as all went well with him he should send a blank sheet in this way once a quarter; and she thus had tidings of him without expense of postage. Most persons would have remembered this incident as a curious story to tell; but there was one mind which wakened up at once to a sense of the significance of the fact. It struck Mr. Hill that there must be something wrong in a system which drove a brother and sister to cheating in order to gratify their desire to hear of one another's welfare.”



The excitement was great in the post-office department, and the resistance prolonged; but it is the honor and strength of free countries that new and fruitful ideas always find some brave mind and persevering will to defend and propagate them. Government was not convinced of the practical utility of Mr. Hill's proposition, ardently supported though it was in the Houses of Parliament; but it was agreed to reduce the postage to fourpence for each letter not exceeding a half-ounce in weight, throughout the whole extent of the United Kingdom.

A year later, in the month of January, 1840, the definitive reform was accomplished, and a uniform rate of a penny a letter was fixed, while the franking privileges accorded to members of Parliament and of the government were at the same time materially abridged. Free scope being thus offered to commercial and individual correspondence, its development has since surpassed all expectation; the number of letters rising from eighty-two millions in the year 1839 to more than a thousand millions in the year 1875, in Great Britain and Ireland. The entire world profits by the persevering initiative of Sir Rowland Hill. Time and space had begun to yield before the increasing energy of the human mind, and it was reserved for his administrative faculty to inflict upon them a new defeat by bringing the interchange of letters within the reach of all.

So much intellectual activity, so much material progress and increasing energy, naturally excite a people enjoying their beneficial effects. The abrupt change brought about in the social condition by the rapid extension of railways was of a nature to reveal, and did in fact bring to light, abysses of the rudest ignorance; it excited passions and hopes, old and yet forever new.

A half-insane leader, assuming a pretentious title, raised an insurrection in Kent, promising the peasants a regeneration in society, as once Wat Tyler and Jack Cade had done in the



same part of England. The winter had been severe; suffering was extreme; most of the peasantry were utterly illiterate; their chief promised them all this world's goods and eternal glory. A crowd gathered about him; and when the authorities sought to disperse them, a constable was killed. The military being called out, the officer in command was shot dead; but at the first fire of the troops, the wretched fanatic who had incited the disturbance, John Nicholls Thom, or, as he styled himself, Sir William Courtenay, fell, with several of his partisans; others were arrested, condemned, and transported. The insurrection was at an end; but the ambitions and illusions seething in men's minds were not dispelled.

A consolation amid the bitter strifes and constant agitations of our time is found in the ever-increasing interest felt by the more prosperous classes in the fate of those who suffer. Dr. Arnold, head-master of Rugby, a man whose memory remains forever dear to all who have been within his influence, and whose power extended far beyond the institution of which he was the head, wrote in 1839 to one of his friends: "I would give anything to be able to organize a society 'for drawing public attention to the state of the laboring-classes throughout the kingdom.' Men do not think of the fearful state in which we are living; if they could once be brought to notice and to appreciate the evil, I should not even yet despair that the remedy may be found and applied, even though it is the solution of the most difficult problem ever yet proposed to man's wisdom, and the greatest triumph over selfishness ever yet required of his virtue."

The feeling of the working-classes themselves naturally went further than the wise foresight of the Tory chief. Their existence was, without doubt, hard and precarious; they felt all its bitterness, and desired its amelioration, but at the same time they had other desires which had been excited by the Reform

Bill and the hope which it had kindled before their eyes. The battle had been fought in Parliament; the flag of Reform had been carried by the aristocratic leaders who had taken the cause in hand; the working-classes had sustained it ardently, and even clamorously; the middle-class had been admitted to a share in the government of the country, but the working-classes in no way whatever participated therein. They saw the door shut in their faces, and the career closed against the very men who had fought for the Reform Bill with the greatest ardor. Popular agitators resolved to carry forward the work which in their judgment had been but just commenced. At a conference held between a few of the most radical members of Parliament and the leaders of the working-men, a programme was adopted which afterwards became widely known. "There's your Charter," O'Connell said, "agitate for it, and never be content for anything less," and the "Chartists" soon gathered about their "Charter."

Some of the points set forth in this "Charter" of the agitators have since become law in England; others, happily for the nation's tranquillity, remain yet unaccepted. Voting by ballot has been adopted, as the programme of the Chartists insisted; the property qualification required for members of Parliament has been abandoned: but universal suffrage does not exist; Parliaments have not been made annual; members of Parliament are not paid; the territory of England is not yet divided into equal districts, sending each its representative to the House of Commons. Still, it would be idle to deny that the progress of legislation and of public sentiment is forcing England as well as the nations of the continent in the direction of democracy. The alliance between the aristocracy and the democracy is not yet broken; the aristocracy is not dispossessed of its *rôle*, in general the authority is yet in its hands; it manages the affairs of the country, but it carries them on



THE THAMES EMBANKMENT





more and more in sympathy with public sentiment and in obedience to the public will. While still preserving its social rank, it is to-day the servant, and not the master. The aristocracy governs, the democracy rules, and rules with a mastery too dreaded, and sometimes obeyed with too much docility.

In 1839 the Chartists were divided into two classes, the partisans of moral force, and the partisans of material force; the men of theories, and the violent agitators, ready to come to blows with a society which refused to them that which they regarded as their right. The first demonstration of these practical demagogues took place at Birmingham, between the 4th and the 15th of July. The excitement was factitious, for manufactures were prosperous, and most of the working-classes already possessed the right of suffrage, but the city was in a panic until the rioters had been forcibly suppressed. The same scenes were enacted at Sheffield and at Newport. In the latter city, a former magistrate, well known for his advanced opinions, headed the working-men who rose in the name of the Chartist programme. He led them when they entered Newport on the 3d of December. The mayor of the city was attacked in the inn where he had established his head-quarters, and was wounded while defending himself. The troops soon repulsed the ill-disciplined multitude; the leaders were arrested, tried, and finally transported.

The agitation was destined to continue, for it arose from the condition of society itself, and from that instinctive and bitter envy which lies at the bottom of so many hearts; but it was not destined to shake to its foundations the life of the English people. In 1848, when all the thrones of Europe trembled, after the fall of Louis Philippe in France, a Chartist demonstration took place in London, and was immediately met by an impressive manifestation of the conservative spirit of the great majority of the people. "There was a great Chartist meeting

to-day at Kennington, near London," wrote M. Guizot, then in exile in England, to M. de Barante, his friend, "twelve or fifteen thousand, they say, who assembled to demand the half of what the Parisian Communists require. The walls are placarded with an official prohibition of all meetings or processions, exactly like Delessert's proclamation three weeks ago. Everybody, from the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Lincoln on the one side, down to the two thousand coal-heavers of the Thames on the other, all the aristocracy and all the middle class to its lowest degree, rallied to the government, and were sworn in as special constables in case of a riot, and there will be at Kennington more volunteers to repress than there will be to make an outbreak. This is grand, but for us a sad thing to see."

The Chartist tumults were not yet appeased, and their leader Fergus O'Connor, presided over meetings and over mobs, when Queen Victoria, upon opening Parliament on the 16th of January, 1840, announced to the nation her intention to marry her cousin Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, a union which she hoped would be as conducive to the interests of her people as to her own personal happiness. "Her Majesty has," said Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons, "the singular good fortune to be able to gratify her private feelings while she performs her public duty, and to obtain the best guarantee for happiness by contracting an alliance founded on affection."

For some time the queen had been attached to her cousin, who was nearly of her own age, and had been twice in England. The marriage had already been for some months decided on when the queen announced it in Parliament.

"In the year 1888," says M. Guizot, in his preface to the "Speeches of Prince Albert," "two centuries will have been completed since William of Orange, a foreign prince, and the husband of an English princess, was called into England by a revolution. There was doubt and embarrassment about the

extent of the power which he should exercise. 'And now,' says Lord Macaulay, 'William thought that the time had come when he ought to explain himself. He accordingly sent for Halifax, Danby, Shrewsbury, and some other political leaders of great note, and with that air of stoical apathy under which he had, from a boy, been in the habit of concealing his strongest emotions, addressed to them a few deeply meditated and weighty words.

" 'He had hitherto, he said, remained silent; he had used neither solicitation nor menace; he had not even suffered a hint of his opinions or wishes to get abroad; but a crisis had now arrived at which it was necessary for him to declare his intentions. He had no right and no wish to dictate to the convention. All that he claimed for himself was the privilege of declining any office which he felt that he could not hold with honor to himself and with benefit to the public. A strong party was for a regency. It was for the Houses to determine whether such an arrangement would be for the benefit of the nation. He had a decided opinion on that point; and he thought it right to say distinctly that he would not be regent. Another party was for placing the princess on the throne and for giving him during her life, the title of king and such a share in the administration as she might be pleased to allow him. He could not stoop to such a post. He esteemed the princess as much as it was possible for man to esteem woman; but not even from her would he accept a subordinate and a precarious place in the government. He was so made that he could not submit to be tied to the apron-strings even of the best of wives. He did not desire to take any part in English affairs, but if he did consent to take a part there was one part only which he could usefully or honorably take. If the estates offered him the crown for life he would accept it. If not, he should, without repining, return to his native country.'



“William III. was right. When he was called into England he was thirty-eight years of age. For sixteen years he had defended a great European cause against the greatest king in Europe. England had called upon him to come and defend for her, and upon her soil, this same cause by bringing a revolution to a happy and successful issue. The crown of England was above all a great additional strength in carrying on his struggle upon the continent. To fulfil the mission laid upon him he had need of all the power and all the prestige of royalty. If he had accepted a lower position, were it lower but in appearance only, he would have been weakened, instead of strengthened, he would have lost instead of gaining.

“That which he insisted upon, while essential for his public career, required no effort, and occasioned no disturbance in his domestic relations. His wife, the Princess Mary, thought and wished as he did. When she learned that there was hesitation at London, in respect to the power and the title with which her husband should be invested, she wrote to Lord Danby that she was the Prince’s wife, that she had no other desire than to be his subject, that the most cruel injury that any one could do her would be to establish a rivalry between herself and him, and that she should never regard as her friend, any person who should form such a plan. For eleven years, William had been king over his household; there even he would have suffered a certain diminution of authority and dignity if he had not had equal rights and powers with his wife in the new kingdom.

“When, in 1840, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, married Queen Victoria, his position was very different; he was young and unknown to the world. He married a young queen hereditarily established upon her throne, in a country most foreign to any necessity or any chance of revolution, a country governed as strongly as it was liberally. In his native land he had done nothing; in the new country to which he came,



there was nothing for him to do ; England asked of him only to be a good husband to the queen, and to occasion in her government neither disturbance nor embarrassment.

“ Guided either by the excellence of his own judgment or by the wise counsels of his advisers, Prince Albert understood admirably the situation, and adapted his conduct to it with equal dignity and good sense. He was at once active and modest, never seeking, in fact, avoiding any vain show of taking part in the government. Although very seriously occupied in the public affairs of England, and the interests of the crown worn by his wife, he was for twenty-one years Queen Victoria’s first subject and her first counsellor, her confidential and only secretary, silently associated in all her deliberations, in all her resolutions, skilful in enlightening her and in seconding her in her relations with her Cabinet without embarrassing or offending the ministers themselves, exercising at the side of the throne a salutary and judicious influence, yet never going out of his place or interfering with the action of a constitutional government.

“ For these twenty-one years, Prince Albert was in his domestic life as excellent a husband as he was a wise and useful counsellor. He lived with the queen, his wife, in the most tender affection, assiduously occupied, in concert with herself, in the education of their children, uniting to a serenity of character and the charm of an affectionate nature, a suitable measure of conjugal and paternal authority, filling and animating the life of those about him, and giving to his royal family as much happiness as he received from them. It was a career as beautiful as it was unostentatious, rare in the domestic history of thrones, and pursued by Prince Albert without effort, without alternating periods of good and bad, by the natural impulse of an upright and elevated mind, an affectionate heart, and a conscience as sensitive as it was enlightened.”

The marriage of Queen Victoria with Prince Albert took place February 10, 1840. The prince was received in England with a certain coolness which at times betrayed itself by absurd and unjust suspicions, and by uncivil procedures. Prince Albert was a free-thinker, some said; others averred that he was a Roman Catholic. The proposition for an annuity for the prince was not accepted without debate in Parliament, and the amount was finally reduced from fifty thousand pounds to thirty thousand. Prince Albert was destined to be justly appreciated and to become thoroughly popular in his adopted country only after his death. Every year of his virtuous life was, however, to bring him increasing happiness in his family, and increasing consideration and respect in his country. And finally, all England was to lament him, feeling to this day the grief and void caused by his loss.

## CHAPTER II.

## WARS AND RUMORS OF WAR. THE EAST.

THE queen's marriage with Prince Albert was celebrated in February, 1840, and in June of the same year the first of those attempts upon her life was made, which from time to time have alarmed and exasperated England. The assassin was one Oxford, a boy of seventeen, half crazy, and treated as such. No political motive was assigned for this attack, the act of a disordered mind and an insane thirst for notoriety. Five times more, at very irregular intervals, the queen was destined to be the object of similar attacks. No one of the assassins paid with his life for the criminal attempt; no one even underwent a long imprisonment. A law, made expressly, fixed the punishment for such attempts at transportation for seven years, or imprisonment for not more than three years, "the culprit to be publicly or privately whipped as often and in such manner as the court shall direct, not exceeding thrice." Neither the queen nor the nation desired a vindictive punishment of these insane acts, which appear never to have been inspired by fanatical passions or instigated by secret societies, as were the attacks made upon Louis Philippe in France.

More serious anxieties at this time occupied the statesmen of both England and France. The recent difficulties between the Sultan of Turkey and his great vassal, Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, threatened to kindle a war between the great Powers of Europe, protectors of one or the other of the belligerents. Sultan Mahmoud died (July 1, 1839) at the moment when his

troops sent to recapture Syria from the pasha had been defeated by the army of the latter. The new sultan, Abdul Medjid, was but sixteen years of age; the audacity of the Pasha of Egypt was increased by this fact, and such was his influence over the very officers of the Porte, that the Capitan Pasha, or High-Admiral of the Turkish fleet, took his vessels to Alexandria and delivered them up to the viceroy. The courts of Europe offered their mediation, which was accepted by Turkey, and the difficulties of the situation increased daily. King Louis Philippe sent M. Guizot to London as ambassador.

“My situation in entering upon negotiations in London upon the Turkish question was singularly hampered and difficult,” writes M. Guizot in his *Mémoires*. “By our note to the Porte of the 27th of July, 1839, we had agreed to act upon that question in concert with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, as well as with England, and we had deterred the sultan from making any direct arrangement with the Pasha of Egypt, assuring him that the united action of the five great Powers was certain. Since that time, however, we had encouraged the pretensions of the pasha to the hereditary possession not merely of Egypt but also of Syria, and at the time that I was accredited to London, notwithstanding the obstacles we had encountered, we still persevered in this resolution. ‘The king’s government,’ wrote Marshal Soult, in his instructions to me, dated February 19, 1840, ‘has believed and believes still that, in the present position of Mohammed Ali, to offer him less than the hereditary throne of Egypt and Syria would be to expose ourselves to a certain refusal, which he would support, if need were, by desperate resistance, of which the result would be a severe shock, and perhaps total overthrow, to the Ottoman Empire.’ Thus pledged on the one hand to a concert with the other great Powers, and on the other, to a support of the pasha’s claims, we had against us in the negotiations: England, — she refused absolutely to the





M. THIERS.



pasha the hereditary possession of Syria; Russia, who wished to preserve her exclusive protectorate over Constantinople, or would sacrifice it only in involving us in a quarrel with England; and even Austria and Prussia, indifferent as to the territorial question between the sultan and the pasha, but determined to side, according to the occasion, now with England and now with Russia, rather than to unite with us in moderating the claims of either of those Powers.

“The whole policy of the French Cabinet rested upon three convictions, which were not lessened upon the accession to power of M. Thiers and M. de Rémusat (29th of February, 1840): the utmost reliance was felt at Paris upon the persistency of Mohammed Ali in his claims upon Egypt and Syria, and upon his energy in supporting them by arms if he should be attacked; the means of coercion which could be employed against him were regarded either as absolutely inefficient and futile, or as gravely compromising the safety of the Ottoman Empire and the peace of Europe; finally, it was firmly believed that Russia would never abandon her exclusive or at least preponderating protectorate at Constantinople. Firmly intrenched behind these convictions, the French Cabinet yielded willingly to the strong pressure of public opinion in favor of the Pasha of Egypt, and felt no urgent necessity to oppose it. It was my mission in London to obtain from the English government important concessions for the benefit of the pasha, and my weapons were to be the three conjectures which I have just mentioned in respect to the probabilities in case of war, and the necessity of a permanent union between France and England to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and the peace of Europe.”

The confidence of the French Cabinet was unfounded, as M. Guizot very soon perceived. The policy of the English ministry, under the influence of Lord Palmerston, threatened to

become more and more exclusively English, and to pay less respect to the wishes of France than was supposed at Paris. "I hope that nothing will be done without us, and I am working to that end," wrote M. Guizot to General Baudrand, first aid-de-camp to the Duke of Orleans, and one of his most trusted friends; "but it is only a hope, and the work is difficult. English policy at times involves itself carelessly and very rashly in foreign affairs. In this affair, all the Powers, except ourselves, flatter England, and stand ready to obey her behests. We alone, her special allies, say, no! The others only desire to please; we are determined to be reasonable, at the risk of displeasing. It is not a very agreeable, nor even a very safe position. If the matter is well managed, and we have time enough, we may succeed; but it will not do, in my judgment, to be sure of this. We must constantly be on our guard against some sudden and secret blow."

Such was precisely the danger about to be encountered. Lord Palmerston had well comprehended the situation of Egypt and had taken care to aggravate the difficulties of the case. The insurrection in Syria, fomented by him, was an excuse for repulsing the French proposals which asked for Mohammed Ali the hereditary possession of Syria as well as of Egypt. Counter proposals, offering to divide Syria between the pasha and the sultan having been in their turn refused by France, the negotiation dragged, and the Pasha of Egypt sought to enter into direct communication with the Porte. Lord Palmerston decided to exclude France from the convention which he considered urgently required by the interests of the Ottoman Empire; he concluded, with Prussia, Austria, and Russia, the agreement of the 15th of July, 1840, in accordance with which, if the sultan's proposals to the pasha were repulsed, the Porte was empowered to call for the aid of the four mediating Powers to compel his vassal to obedience.



This was to isolate France in Europe, and it was the most serious attack made upon that alliance between France and England which had been so strictly maintained since the accession of Louis Philippe to the French throne. M. Guizot had already foreseen this. "The Eastern question occupies me much," he wrote; "it was drooping, when Mohammed Ali's proposals to the sultan after the fall of Khoussreff Pasha caused it to revive. This is regarded as the exclusive work of France, and has given offence. It is said, 'Since France has her separate policy and follows it, let us do the same.' The four Powers at once set at work; Lord Palmerston is preparing a quadruple arrangement with this twofold basis: no Syria for the pasha; coercion if necessary. I do not understand that the matter is settled. If the proposition of Mohammed Ali to the sultan should succeed, and bring about a direct settlement of difficulties, it will be for the best, and everybody must needs be content. But if nothing comes of it, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that our influence with the other European Powers will be enfeebled, and an agreement between them from which we are left out, will have a very good chance of success."

When the convention of the 15th of July was known, the anger in France was great,—greater and more general than Lord Palmerston and the English Cabinet had foreseen. "Everything that I heard from Paris showed me how strong and general was the feeling, the displeasure, I may say, on this subject," writes M. Guizot in his *Mémoires*; "it arose as much from the unfriendly act of the English Cabinet as from the public good-will towards Mohammed Ali, and the French anger helped along the Egyptian cause. 'The public temper is incredibly warlike,' some one wrote to me, on the 30th of July; 'the coolest heads, the most timid natures are carried away by the general impulse; all the deputies whom I see,

pronounce in favor of a great display of strength; the most peaceable among us are wearied with this question of war, always put off, but always recurring again; we must put an end to this, they say. This disposition has reacted upon our anniversaries this month; on the 28th there were between sixty and eighty thousand men under arms, and everybody was delighted to see so many bayonets at one time. Yesterday when the king appeared on the balcony of the Tuileries he was received with acclamations that were really very cordial, and when the orchestra performed the Marseillaise, there was a genuine outburst of enthusiasm.' ”

In England war was not desired. Lord Melbourne said to M. Guizot: “Lord Palmerston asserts that we shall succeed promptly and easily. In this expectation the experiment is made; if we are mistaken, we shall not go on. The pasha is not a madman, and France is always there. France has indicated the terms of an agreement: Egypt and Syria made hereditary for the pasha; Candia, Carelia, and Adana restored to the sultan. The pasha can always fall back upon this proposition. Why should he not at once, if he declines the propositions of the Porte? And if it is refused now, why should he not bring it up again in the course of events when he has proved his strength, and has begun to prove Lord Palmerston in the wrong? England wishes neither to quarrel with France nor to set Europe in a blaze. Austria is of the same mind with England. It is a pity, and it would be very serious; but it can be avoided, and we desire to stop it, and France, who would not assist the four Powers in moving, will at least help them to stop.”

Lord John Russell was as anxious as Lord Melbourne; the Tories were more uneasy than the Whigs, although they had not the responsibility of the decision. “We shall remain silent,” said Sir Robert Peel; “we shall leave all the responsibility to

the Cabinet. We shall be like France in the East, motionless and watchful, waiting for events." The Duke of Wellington wrote to one of his friends: "God send that we may preserve peace between these two great countries, and for the world! I am certain that there is no desire in this country, on the part of any party, — I may almost say of any influential individual, — to quarrel with, much less to do anything offensive towards, France. But if we should be under the necessity of going to war, you will witness the most extraordinary exertions ever made by this or any country in order to carry the same on with vigor, however undesirable we may think it to enter into it."

M. Thiers was disposed to commence at once the warlike preparations whose possibility the Duke of Wellington had regretfully foreseen. "Stand firm," he wrote to M. Guizot, in a letter desiring him to return to Paris to decide, in a personal interview, upon the course to be pursued; "be cold and severe, except with those who are our friends. I have no wish to change anything in your conduct, except to render it more decided, if that be possible without exciting against yourself the ill-will of those who can influence the conduct of England." The sultan had already accepted the convention of the 15th of July, and had, in accordance, addressed to the pasha a summons to return to his allegiance. Mohammed Ali replied with the most explicit refusal. "That which I have gained by the sword I shall abandon only to the sword," he said to the consul-general of England. France intervened, and had obtained important concessions from the pasha, but the English fleet was already off Beyroot before the treaty of the 15th of July had been ratified. On the 14th of September, without replying to the propositions of Mohammed Ali, the sultan pronounced sentence of removal upon his viceroy, and appointed a new Pasha of Egypt. Three days later, September



17th, Beyroot was first summoned to surrender, and then bombarded by the English squadron, while Turkish troops, or those in the service of Turkey, landed in Syria. The treaty of July 15th was executed in all its consequences, whilst at London and Paris efforts were still making to prevent these results. The situation was critical in France. Preparations for war, already for some time in progress, were every day hastened more and more. The nation felt herself offended, and believed herself menaced. In the treaty of the 15th of July she saw an attack upon her dignity; and the alliance of the four Powers to settle the Egyptian question without her, seemed in her eyes the presage of a new coalition against her, perhaps to come into existence in the near future. The enemies of the government of 1830 fomented this twofold sentiment, promising themselves an opportunity for the gratification of their passions and the success of their designs. The French Cabinet felt all the pressure of the public anger and alarm, and took measures as serious as they would have done if the perils which seemed to threaten had in reality burst upon them. An augmentation of sea and land forces was ordered; it was decided to fortify Paris. On the 8th of October the French Cabinet declared its determination not to consent to the overthrow of Mohammed Ali as Pasha of Egypt, and the Chambers were convoked for the 28th of the same month.

M. Guizot did not believe that the war was necessary. On the 23d of September he wrote to the Duke de Broglie: "Ought France to make war for the sake of preserving Syria to the Pasha of Egypt? Plainly that is not an interest of sufficient importance to become a *casus belli*. France, who did not make war to save Poland from Russia, or Italy from Austria, cannot reasonably do it in order that Syria may belong to the pasha rather than to the sultan. The war would be either in the East and maritime, or continental and general. If maritime,







AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE.

the inequality of forces is incontestable; if continental and general, France could sustain the war only by becoming once more revolutionary, that is to say, abandoning the honest, wise, and useful policy which she has followed since 1830, and by her own act transforming the present alliance of the four Powers into a hostile coalition. It is, therefore, not for the interest of France to make the Syrian question a ground for war. The policy hitherto declared and maintained by France towards the East does not permit her to do it. We have constantly and loudly asserted that the distribution of territory between the sultan and the pasha concerned us but little; that if the pasha wished to restore Syria to the sultan, we should offer no opposition whatever; that the anticipation of his refusal, of his resistance, and of the perils which would arise thence for the Ottoman empire and for the peace of Europe, was the sole motive of our opposition to the exercise of coercion towards him. In making war for the sake of preserving Syria to the pasha, we should give ourselves the lie in a most conspicuous and disastrous manner. Is this equivalent to saying that France has nothing to do but to be an armed spectator at the execution of the agreement of the 15th of July, and that her language, her attitude, her preparations must be, whatever happens, a demonstration, and nothing more? Certainly not.

“If the pasha resists, if the measures of coercion employed by the four Powers become complicated and prolonged, then, what France has announced may be realized. The Syrian question may bring up other questions. War may arise spontaneously, necessarily, in consequence of some unforeseen incident, the situation being perilous and critical. If war arise in this way, not by the will and the act of France, but in consequence of a situation for which France is not at all responsible, France must needs accept the war. From the present moment she is bound to hold herself ready to accept it.”



Patriotic anger had been the first impulse in France, upon the news of the convention of July 15th, and revolutionary passions worked upon this patriotic anger, seeking to stimulate it to the most dangerous excesses. The conservative and prudent instinct awakened in presence of the wild extravagances of the newspapers and popular meetings. The necessity for the government to resist this popular excitement by resting upon the wisdom of the Chambers, was every day more keenly felt. The Cabinet of M. Thiers, hotly engaged in the struggle, was not adapted to rally the resisting force of France, nor to treat with England. "Send us away, Sire, send us away," M. Cousin, at that time Minister of Public Instruction, said to the king, "we shall lead you into war." Louis Philippe followed M. Cousin's advice: he recalled M. Guizot from London, and entrusted him with the duty of forming a new Cabinet.

The peace policy prevailed, dignified, reserved, always ready to give proof of boldness and strength, in an isolation which might at any moment become an imminent danger,—the policy of peace, however, openly announced, and courageously supported. The English Cabinet greeted it with mingled satisfaction and embarrassment; and events, justifying Lord Palmerston's policy,—the insurrection in Syria, the retreat of Ibrahim Pasha and his army, and the taking of St. Jean d'Acre,—destroyed the illusions of France in respect to Mohammed Ali's energetic resistance, and threatened to complicate the situation of Europe, by making the triumph of the four Powers too complete. Sir Robert Peel acknowledged this in a letter to M. de Bourgueney, French *chargé-d'affaires*.

In this perilous situation Mohammed Ali resolved to follow the advice given him by Sir Charles Napier, then in command of the English squadron; he offered, as soon as the heredi-



tary succession of Egypt should be assured to him, to send back to the sultan the Turkish fleet, and he gave orders to his son, Ibrahim Pasha, to evacuate Syria.

The object of solicitude was now changed ; to secure the peace of Europe it was no longer a question of arresting the encroachments of Mohammed Ali upon the power of the Porte, but of preventing, in concert with France, the sultan from impairing the situation in which the Powers desired to maintain the Pasha of Egypt. "Nothing good or lasting is done without France," the Duke of Wellington used to say. For eight months the capricious alternatives of the Porte, the anger of Lord Ponsonby, the English ambassador at Constantinople, re-acting upon Lord Palmerston's designs, and Oriental finesse, seeking to explain documents or complicate proceedings, kept in suspense the conclusion of a treaty which all desired, though on different grounds, and which could alone put an end to a situation always full of danger. On the 13th of July, 1841, the agreement of the five Powers was signed, assuring to Mohammed Ali that Egyptian heredity, pure and simple, which had once been scornfully refused to him, and was now granted solely by reason of the protection of France.

"The Egyptian question was disposed of," writes M. Guizot in his *Mémoires* ; "a question raised in 1840 far above its true importance, and in which we, ill-informed in respect to facts, became much more deeply involved than the strength of the pasha justified, or the interests of France required. Peace was maintained, and in the midst of peace, the precautionary armaments made by France were maintained also ; the fortification of Paris was carried on, the French government established itself in that isolation which had been caused by the failure of the Powers sufficiently to esteem her presence and advice. Europe became conscious of the void in

its counsels created by the absence of France, and showed eagerness to recall her to them. France did not return thither until Europe came to beg her to do so, after requiring from the Porte the concessions claimed by the pasha, and making the declaration that the treaty of July 15, 1840, was definitively annulled.

“Mohammed Ali, driven from Syria and threatened in Egypt itself, was at last established in the latter country with the hereditary succession, and upon equitable conditions, not by reason of his own strength, but on account of consideration for France, and because the Powers who had signed the treaty of the 15th of July were not willing to incur the risk of disunion among themselves, or of seeing new complications arise.

“By the convention of July 13th, 1841, the Porte was withdrawn from the exclusive protectorate of Russia, and placed in the sphere of the general interests and the common deliberations of Europe. By these results, the failure of France, due to her mistake in this question, was limited and arrested; she resumed her position in Europe, and assured in Egypt that of her client. In the end was done and obtained that which should have been done and obtained in the beginning.”

The affairs of Egypt, important as they were, were not the only ones to trouble the world. Many delicate negotiations had been brought to a successful issue during M. Guizot's residence in England. The remains of the Emperor Napoleon had been given up to France, not without a certain surprise upon receiving such a request from the king, Louis Philippe. The difficulties existing between England and Naples on account of the sulphur mines were settled by French mediation. But the extreme East was agitated by serious conflicts, England had entered upon a war with China, and her difficulties with the Afghans became every day more threatening.

China was still, in theory, an empire closed to all foreign

civilization, interdicting to its subjects every form of intercourse with the merchants of the West. In fact, diplomatic and official relations did not exist, but American merchants and the English East India Company had succeeded in obtaining a foothold in a corner of the Celestial Empire, their establishments at Macao and at Canton being authorized. The East India Company's monopoly expiring in 1834, the conditions of European traffic in China were modified; commerce becoming free, a considerable number of English merchants henceforth became interested in it. The commerce of the Americans and the English with China was nearly of the same nature. European traders furnished to the Chinese the opium of which they made great use, in defiance of the prohibition of their own government, strictly forbidding its importation and sale. The Chinese government tolerated the culture of the poppy, it was urged; it was therefore unreasonable to object to the importation of opium. "It is an agricultural protection question," urged Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons against certain moralists in the opposition who declaimed against the wickedness of the traffic. Superintendents were appointed by the English government to watch over the commerce of their countrymen at Macao and Canton, in the hope of avoiding the frequent difficulties sure to arise between two nationalities, one shut up in a narrow and antique civilization, with which they were proudly content, the other bold and enterprising, ignorant of the ideas and manners of the Chinese, and profoundly despising the narrowness of their prejudices. The English traders considered themselves protected by their government, and carrying on the opium trade under the shelter of the British flag.

The English government acted wrongly in leaving these superintendents for a long time without positive instructions in their delicate mission; and when at last it was declared officially that government could not interfere to defend Eng-



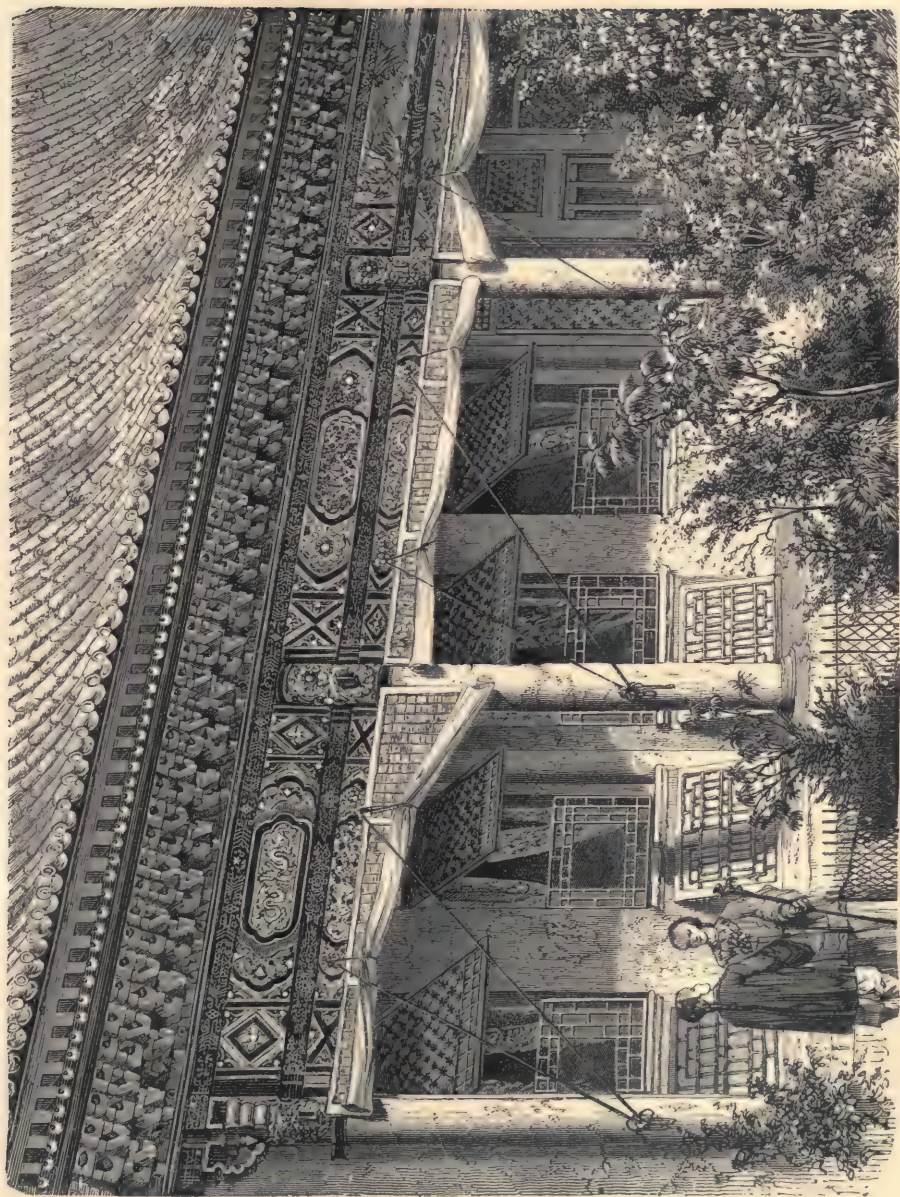
lish subjects from the penalty of violating the laws of the country with which they traded, and that the traders must themselves bear any loss which might fall upon them in consequence of a stricter application of Chinese laws, it was already too late. The Emperor of China and his mandarins had determined to put an end to the trade. The opium in the possession of British traders was seized, the authorities required the warehouses to be given up, the persons as well as the property of English subjects seemed to be menaced; and Captain Elliott, the chief of the superintendents, sent for aid to the Governor of India. War had begun.

The result could not be doubtful. The Chinese displayed a persistent bravery which was entirely unexpected, and their heroic despair in defeat rendered their losses considerable. When conquered, they not unfrequently put their wives and children to death, and themselves perished under the ruins of their dwellings. Peace was made at last with the cession of the island of Hong-Kong, and the opening to British traders of five ports, Canton, Amoy, Foo-Chow-Foo, Ning-Po, and Shanghai. Diplomatic relations were established, and the Chinese engaged to pay a heavy indemnity to England, besides making up to the traders their losses in the opium destroyed.

The wise principle laid down at the beginning by the English government had been abandoned; the cause of the opium traders had been supported, and, despite the remonstrances of the opposition, thanks were voted to government which had earned the gratitude of England by compelling the Chinese to admit the opium proscribed by their own laws. The excuse of the English public was, that it did not well understand the question, and believed England bound to defend her citizens, and protect the honor of her flag.

The cause which England had supported in China was not a good cause; but her arms had gained an easy victory, and





ENGLISH LEGATION AT SHANGHAI



the product of the war-indemnity figured in the revenues under the title of "China money." The long-established English dominion in India was to be the theatre of events more serious, painful, and humiliating to the country, and, for many years, fruitful in misfortunes. For the first time the Afghan name made itself heard in Europe, where it was destined to acquire a cruel and lasting renown.

The kingdom of Cabul, or Afghanistan, forms the link between western and eastern India. It is the great highway from Persia to India, and among its population are mingled many nationalities, Hindoos, Arabs, and even Armenians, the Afghans being, however, the dominant race. They are a brave and haughty people, devout followers of Mohammed, and for ages governed by bold and able princes. In 1837, when the first difficulties arose between the Governor of India, Lord Auckland, and the Afghan princes, the throne of Afghanistan was occupied by Dost Mohammed, belonging to the powerful tribe of the Barukzyes, who had driven out of the kingdom the descendants of Ahmad-Shah, the great founder of the Afghan Empire. These latter princes retained nothing but Herat, and all the rest of Afghanistan was divided among Dost Mohammed and his brothers, who were favorably disposed towards England, and had already made overtures towards her.

Anxiety in respect to the increase of Russian influence had always existed at the court of the English Governor of India, and it was particularly serious at this period. Dost Mohammed, while earnestly seeking the favor and protection of England, allowed it to be understood that if unsuccessful in this attempt, he should seek another alliance. Captain Barnes, a bold and experienced traveller, was employed to sound the intentions and judge of the sincerity of the Afghan prince, and the information he sent to Lord Auckland was



distinctly favorable to Dost Mohammed. Notwithstanding this, Lord Auckland seems to have had no confidence in Dost Mohammed; it appeared to him that he should better secure English preponderance in Afghanistan by placing upon the throne a prince who should owe everything to England: a descendant of the exiled rulers of the country was living in retirement in India, and Lord Auckland resolved to restore this individual to the throne of his ancestors. On the 12th of October, 1838, the English governor published a manifesto, announcing the war and declaring his reasons. The presence of a Russian agent at the court of Dost Mohammed, and the fear of a Russian invasion of India across Persia and Afghanistan, were evidently among the causes of Lord Auckland's decision. A general anxiety prevailed throughout English India, and the governor was in a degree forced by public opinion when, at the beginning of the year 1838, he entered upon the disastrous Afghan war.

The campaign opened brilliantly. Ghuznee and Jellalabad were taken by assault, Dost Mohammed abandoned his capital, and the new prince, Shah Shooja, was installed in Cabul. The popularity, however, of which Lord Auckland had spoken so confidently in his proclamation, was entirely wanting to the new sovereign. His capital received him in gloomy silence, and only the acclamations of the English soldiers greeted his passage through the streets.

This condition of public feeling soon manifested itself openly. Dost Mohammed himself had made more than one effort to recover his lost throne; he had distinguished himself by his personal bravery, but finally he seemed to have become convinced that it was useless to struggle against the power of England, and on the evening after a battle, which had at least been undecided, and might have been claimed by him as a victory, he made his way to the English headquarters and surrendered



his sword to Sir W. H. Macnaghten, the British envoy and minister at the court of Cabul. Thereupon he was sent to India, and his name replaced that of Shah Shooja upon the list of Great Britain's pensioners. But in the meantime the population of Cabul were becoming more and more dissatisfied with the new ruler, who, they averred, had sold the country to strangers. An insurrection was imminent; Sir W. H. Macnaghten was warned, but he paid no heed to the information. On the 2d of November, 1841, the populace broke out into insurrection; Captain, now Sir Alexander Barnes, who had been deputed to act with Sir W. H. Macnaghten, was besieged in his own house, but refused to believe himself in danger, and sought to appease the frenzy of the mob by assuring them that he had always been their friend. His conduct, however, had laid him open to the suspicion of treachery. He had been the friend of Dost Mohammed, and he was now the confidential adviser of Shah Shooja. What were his real sentiments is perhaps doubtful, since it has been well established that the despatches he sent home to the British government were tampered with before they were presented to the House of Commons. But the infuriated crowd regarded him as their enemy; they forced the garden gate, and rushed into the house, uttering fierce threats against Sir Alexander and his brother. A Mussulman from Kashmyr offered to conduct the two brothers in safety to the forts, if they would trust themselves to him; but no sooner had they quitted the house than the traitor cried out to the mob, "Here they are!" and the two were instantly murdered.

The English troops were quartered outside of the city, a few of them occupying the fortress. Every day they were threatened and insulted, and their position grew more and more dangerous. At this time a son of Dost Mohammed, Akbar Khan, a bold, intelligent, and unscrupulous young man, put

himself at the head of the insurrection. Sir W. H. Macnaghten was intending to fall back in the direction of India, in the hope of meeting the reinforcements believed to be on the way towards Cabul. He opened negotiations with the Afghan chiefs, who began by demanding unconditional surrender, a demand which was, of course, indignantly refused. Meantime dissensions existed among the English officers; General Elphinstone, the commander-in-chief, was ill and enfeebled; the second in command was a man of much greater ability, but through vanity and ill-humor unable to do his country good service. The winter had now set in with great severity, and snow fell heavily. On the 23d of December, Akbar Khan proposed a secret conference to the English envoy. The latter accepted it, and, accompanied by three officers, made his appearance at the place designated, where Akbar Khan, accompanied by a crowd of Afghans, met him. But a few words had been exchanged when one of the English officers was seized by an Afghan who stood behind him, and Akbar Khan, fell upon Macnaghten; he was thrown down; and Akbar Khan drawing a pistol, one of a pair Macnaghten had lately presented to him, shot the envoy. With him one of the English officers was also killed, and the others were carried off prisoners. "The look of wondering horror that sat upon Macnaghten's upturned face," says Kaye, in his "History of the Afghan War," "will not be forgotten by those who saw it, to their dying day . . . . Thus perished as brave a gentleman as ever in the midst of fiery trial struggled manfully to rescue from disgrace the reputation of a great country."

The surprise of the English was such, and their situation so critical, that they dared not at once avenge this odious murder. Reinforcements were on the way, it was said; but the officers resolved to capitulate. They accepted conditions the most humiliating: the abandonment of nearly all theirartil-

lery, the relinquishment of all the treasure, augmented by a considerable personal ransom, and the evacuation of Jellalabad by General Sale. Six English officers were left as hostages in the hands of Akbar Khan.

The caravan set out on the 6th of January, 1842. It consisted of four thousand five hundred soldiers, most of them Asiatics, and twelve thousand English or Indian camp-followers. Some officers' wives and a number of children made part of this sad band. The Afghans had at first proposed to retain the women as hostages, but the officers, who had accepted so many humiliations, refused this in set terms. Fate, however, was soon to triumph over even this last resistance.

Akbar Khan had required fresh hostages, which had been given him; he now followed the march of this disorderly and despairing band, who were pressing on unaware into new dangers. The tribe of the Ghilzyes occupied the pass of Koord Cabul, a gorge five miles in length, between precipitous cliffs of great height, and traversed by a mountain torrent. From the rocky sides of the pass a shower of balls rained down upon the human mass struggling in this defile. Akbar Khan, it is said, strove to put an end to this fire, but he was utterly powerless to do it; and when the English column emerged from the pass, three thousand dead bodies lay upon the ground. The women shared in the common fate; many of them were in camel-panniers, a few — among them Lady Sale — on horseback. The latter was severely wounded, and her son-in-law was killed. The Afghan chief from time to time appeared in the midst of the confusion. Finally he announced, says Lady Sale, "that he had a proposal to make, but that he did not like to do so, lest his motives might be misconstrued; but that, as it concerned us more than himself, he would mention it; and that it was that all the married men with their families should come over and put themselves under his protection,



he guaranteeing them honorable treatment and safe escort to Peshawur. He added that it must have been seen from the events of the day previous—the loss of Captain Boyd's and Captain Anderson's children—that our camp was no place of safety for women and children." The women were not consulted. "There was but faint hope," says Lady Sale, "of our ever getting safely to Jellalabad, and we followed the stream. But although there was much talk regarding our going over, all I personally know of the affair is that I was told we were all to go, and that our horses were ready, and that we must mount immediately, and be off."

The column continued to advance, the Asiatic soldiers dropping behind and falling under the severity of the cold. Finally the English gave way, one after another, until in the pass of Jugdulluk, barricaded by branches and trunks of trees, and held by the enemy, a massacre so horrible ensued that but twenty officers and twenty-five soldiers emerged alive. The following morning this little handful was again attacked; they refused to surrender, a captain and a few men were made prisoners, others perished on the spot, six only reached Futtehabad, sixteen miles from Jellalabad, and before the last stage of the journey was completed, five of these six had perished.

General Sale meanwhile was at Jellalabad, ignorant of what had befallen his comrades and his family at Cabul. Common rumor had already announced some great danger, when a letter arrived from General Elphinstone declaring that in virtue of a treaty made with the Afghans, the entire territory of Cabul was to be abandoned. General Sale was not sure that he should be able to lead his troops to Peshawur, and he resolved to disregard the instructions of Elphinstone and hold the position in which he was. On the 13th of February, a sentinel on the walls of Jellalabad perceived a man advancing in the distance whose horse seemed almost too fatigued to walk. They hastened out



to meet him. Wounded, famished, worn out with suffering, Dr. Brydon brought news of the disaster which had overwhelmed the English column. Alone of all who had left Cabul on the 6th of January, he remained alive and at liberty, and he brought word to the English general that his wife and daughter were in the hands of Akbar Khan.

In a soldier's heroism General Sale found what consolation was possible. "I propose," he said, "to hold this place on the part of government until I receive its order to the contrary." Akbar Khan immediately laid siege to the town, seconded by successive earthquakes which destroyed a portion of the ramparts. But the English stood firm, repairing their walls and repulsing the enemy's attacks. They knew that General Pollock was on his way to their relief, and they decided to come out and attack the Afghans, without waiting for his arrival.

On the 7th of April, three columns of infantry with a little force of cavalry made a sortie from Jellalabad. At the head of one of these columns marched Captain Havelock, as tranquilly resolute as when, later, he came to the deliverance of Lucknow. The Afghans were completely defeated, notwithstanding their superior numbers. On his part General Pollock had carried the Khyber Pass, where General Wild had been destroyed. Foreseeing that the enemy would, in accordance with their custom, occupy the heights, he had posted his own forces on still higher elevations; the Afghans tried vainly to dislodge them, and in their turn perished by the same fate that they had designed for the English. The two victorious corps met at the gates of Jellalabad. The fortune of war had shifted, and English courage was in the ascendant. For a moment the vague hope had spread among the native populations of India that foreign dominion was approaching its end in their country. Shah Shooja was assassinated in Cabul; Lord Auckland, however, published a proclamation full of courage and hope: the

calamity which had overtaken the British arms was, he said, "a new occasion for displaying the stability and vigor of the British power, and the admirable spirit and valor of the British Indian army."

This was the brave adieu of the governor-general to a country which he had inconsiderately involved in a disastrous war. Lord Auckland had just been superseded by Lord Ellenborough.

The first instinct of the new governor was to recall the troops at the earliest possible moment from Afghanistan. Lord Ellenborough was a man of much intellectual ability; he was an orator, and extremely well informed in respect to Indian affairs, but he was often carried away by a love of rhetoric and theatrical effect into contenting himself and seeking to satisfy others with mere words. The brilliant style of his proclamations did not suffice to content the English generals, eager for vengeance, and burning to wash out the shame of their defeats. The military commanders gathered together their forces, and marched against the enemy. One by one, the cities which had fallen into the hands of the Afghans were retaken; on the 15th of September, 1842, General Pollock entered Cabul, and, a few days later, set fire to the grand bazar where Akbar Khan had displayed to the Afghan populace the body of the murdered Macnaghten.

The English hostages meantime remained in the hands of the Afghan prince; the conquerors were not forgetful of them, however, and Sir Robert Sale was appointed to attempt their deliverance. Whether he should find his wife and his daughter alive he did not know. From fort to fort, from defile to defile, the unhappy prisoners had been hurried by their keepers; they had been shut up in the most horrible recesses, deprived almost of the necessities of life, overwhelmed by physical and mental sufferings of every kind. Lady Sale in her journal relates the

history of this captivity which lasted eight months. General Elphinstone very early succumbed under the hardships of the imprisonment. The women had preserved their strength wonderfully, and the health of the children seems not to have suffered. A hope of deliverance supported the prisoners, for signs of weakness were evident in the position of Akbar Khan. The same conviction made its way among the inferior chiefs, to whom the custody of the English prisoners was confided. They allowed themselves to be won over by the promise of a heavy ransom, and the whole party were on their way towards General Pollock's camp when they met General Sale, coming in search of them. "Our joy was too great, too overwhelming for tongue to utter," wrote one of the rescued prisoners. "We felt a choking sensation which could not obtain the relief of tears."

Other captives who had fallen into the power of the Ameer of Bokhara, to whom they had been sent as an embassy, were meeting with a very different fate. The feeble attempts that were made to deliver them ended only in establishing the certainty that death has been to them a relief from insupportable sufferings.

The intervention of the government of English India in the affairs of the native princes had borne bitter fruit. A proclamation by Lord Ellenborough announced that this course had been definitively abandoned. "To force a sovereign upon a reluctant people," wrote Lord Ellenborough, on the 1st of October, 1842, four years after Lord Auckland's proclamation in favor of the Shah Shooja, "would be as inconsistent with the policy as it is with the principles of the British government." He added that any government freely recognized by the Afghans themselves would be accepted by Great Britain; that the English troops would be withdrawn from Afghanistan; and that the English power in India would content itself with the limits which nature appeared to have assigned to it.

Dost Mohammed emerged from captivity, and was restored to the throne of Cabul. All the sufferings, losses, and humiliations of the English army had been in vain; at the end of four years, events had brought back the old chief to his kingdom, and restored the independence of the Afghan nation. The bones of those who had been the victims of this war remained scattered in the defiles of the mountains, while hostile and bitter memories lingered in the depths of many hearts.





CALCUTTA.



WINDSOR CASTLE.



## CHAPTER III.

## SIR ROBERT PEEL AND THE CORN-LAW QUESTION.

WHILST England in the East was attaching her name to the opium trade with the Chinese, and to the defiles of the Afghan mountains, her interior government was undergoing important modifications, and the power passed from the hands of the Whigs to those of the Tories, from Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston to Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen.

“Ever since its two restorations in 1835 and 1839,” says M. Guizot in his life of Sir Robert Peel, “the Whig Cabinet had been wearing itself out by continuing in office without growing in power. During the sessions of 1840 and 1841, it began again to totter, and it was easy to foresee that it would soon fall once more. The attacks of the opposition became more pressing. Peel no longer restrained the ardor of his friends. The Whigs began to perceive that his blows were more hardly dealt, and might soon prove mortal. They endeavored to intimidate or weaken him by foretelling the difficulties which would beset him in the exercise of power. ‘I believe,’ said Mr. Macaulay, ‘that if, with the best and purest intentions, the right honorable baronet were to undertake the government of this country, he would find that it was very easy to lose the confidence of the party which raised him to power, but very difficult indeed to gain that which the present government happily possesses, the confidence of the people of Ireland.’

“It was by the help of Ireland most of all, that the Whigs hoped to maintain themselves in power and to paralyze their

formidable opponent. They called on him to explain himself with clearness on this question, and generally to state the views and principles of conduct which would guide him if he were placed at the head of the government. Peel unhesitatingly accepted the challenge. 'Two demands,' he said, 'have been made by the opposite side, in the course of this discussion. The one, that he who is about to give his vote of want of confidence in the government should specify the grounds upon which this vote is given; the other, that those who from their position may be regarded as the probable successors of the government which it is sought to displace, should state upon what principles of public policy they propose to conduct the affairs of their country. The absolute justice of the first of these demands I willingly admit. The other demand, namely, that I should explain in detail my views of public policy, is perhaps not equally imperative in point of strict obligation, but it is a demand to which, from considerations of prudence, I shall most willingly accede. There shall be no limit to the fulness and unreservedness of the answers which I will give, excepting your impatience. I know too well the little value that can be placed on that support which arises from misconception of one's real opinions. I have had too much experience of solemn engagements, entered into for the purpose of overturning a government, violated when that object had been obtained. I have so little desire to procure a hollow confidence, either on false pretences or by a delusive silence, that I rejoice in the opportunity of frankly declaring my opinions and intentions on every point on which you challenge unreserved explanation.' "

Sir Robert Peel spoke for two hours, passing in review all the great public questions of the time, all his own opinions regarding reform, the principles of Parliament, the Poor Law, the Corn Law, Catholic Emancipation and the Administration of Ireland.



“I have done,” he said at last. “I have fulfilled the purpose for which I rose, by specifying the grounds on which I withhold my confidence from the present government, and by declaring the course I mean to pursue on the great questions of public policy on which the public mind is divided. I cannot answer the question you put me, what principles will prevail if a new government be formed? But I can answer for it, that if the principles I profess do not prevail, of that government I shall form no part. It may be that by the avowal of my opinions I shall forfeit the confidence of some who, under mistaken impressions, may have been hitherto disposed to follow me. I shall deeply regret the withdrawal of that confidence; but I would infinitely prefer to incur the penalty of its withdrawal than to retain it under false pretences. It may be that the principles I profess cannot be reduced to practice, and that a government attempting the execution of them would not meet with adequate support from the House of Commons. Still I shall not abandon them. I shall not seek to compensate the threatened loss of confidence on this side of the House by the faintest effort to conciliate the support of the other. I shall steadily persevere in the course which I have uniformly pursued since the passing of the Reform Bill, content with the substantial power which I shall yet exercise,—indifferent as to office so far as personal feelings or personal objects are concerned,—ready, if required, to undertake it whatever be its difficulties,—refusing to accept it on conditions inconsistent with personal honor, disdaining to hold it by the tenure by which it is at present held.”

It was not until the following session, on the 27th of May, 1841, that the vote of want of confidence in the Whig Cabinet, proposed by Sir Robert Peel himself, was carried by a majority of one. Determined to try every chance, the queen's ministers obtained the dissolution of Parliament. In the debate on the queen's address, the new Parliament, assembling on the 19th

of August, 1841, gave the Conservatives a majority of ninety-one votes. On the 30th of August, the Whig Cabinet resigned, and Sir Robert Peel took into his hands the government of his country.

He came into power under the most brilliant yet precarious auspices, with a splendid array of strength, but also with hidden sources of weakness. His triumph was no less legitimate than it was complete. The Whig Cabinet had given way before no accident or manœuvre; it had slowly been worn out, in the open daylight of debate, and had retired before the positive and well-considered vote of Parliament. The Cabinet just formed by Sir Robert Peel numbered in its ranks men illustrious by their renown, their rank, their capacity, and by the general esteem of the public: in the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington, who had no special office; Lord Lyndhurst, equally skilled in political discussion and in the administration of justice; Lord Aberdeen, a man of conciliating disposition and clear-sighted intelligence, prudent, patient, just, and better than any other person acquainted with the diplomatic interests and traditions of Europe; and Lord Ellenborough, the most brilliant of Tory orators: in the House of Commons, Lord Stanley, concerning whom the noble ex-leader of the Whigs, Lord Grey, said, in 1840, that he considered him the direct descendant of the great oratorical school of Pitt and Fox; Sir James Graham, eminent for administrative talent, a fertile and animated reasoner, full of resources in debate; and around them a group of men still young, already highly distinguished, laborious, enlightened, sincere, and devoted,—Mr. Gladstone, Lord Lincoln, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Sir William Follett. Behind this political staff stood a strong majority, trained by ten years of conflict, rejoicing and proud in their new triumph. Finally, at the head of this powerful party and this strong ministry was Sir Robert Peel, the unquestioned and experienced

leader, accepted by all, enjoying the esteem of the public, invested with the authority of character, talent, experience, and victory. Never perhaps had a prime minister united, at his accession to power, so many elements and guarantees of a safe and strong government.

But he was called to perform the most difficult of tasks, — a task in its very nature incoherent and contradictory. He was obliged to be at once a conservative and a reformer, and to carry with him in this double path a majority, itself badly cohering and ruled by interests, prejudices, and passions, which could neither be removed nor conciliated. Unity was lacking in his policy and union in his army. His position and the work which lay before him were alike complicated and embarrassed; he was a commoner, charged with the duty of subjecting to severe reforms a powerful and proud aristocracy; he was a Liberal, reasonable and moderate, but truly a Liberal, drawing after him the old Tories and the ultra Protestants. And this commoner, now become so great, was a man of reserved and unsympathetic character, of cold and ungraceful manners, able in guiding and ruling a public assembly, but ill suited to act upon men's minds by the charm of intimacy, of conversation, of frank and free interchange of sentiments, — rather a tactician than a propagandist, more powerful to convince than to persuade, more formidable to his adversaries than agreeable to his friends.

Better than himself, probably, his adversaries perceived, with the sagacity of party spirit, the difficulties which awaited him, and took no pains to remove them. Still in power upon the re-assembling of Parliament, and called upon to prepare, as their last will and testament, the speech from the throne, the Whigs were very careful to define therein the double task which they themselves had not been able to accomplish, but which they imposed upon their successors. They said to the



two Houses: "The extraordinary expenses which the events in Canada, China, and the Mediterranean have occasioned, and the necessity of maintaining a force adequate to the protection of our extensive possessions, have made it necessary to consider the means of increasing the public revenue. Her Majesty is anxious that this object should be effected in the manner least burdensome to her people; and it has appeared to her Majesty, after full deliberation, that you may at this juncture properly direct your attention to the revision of duties affecting the productions of foreign countries. It will be for you to consider whether some of those duties are not so trifling in amount as to be unproductive to the revenue, while they are vexatious to commerce. You may further examine whether the principle of protection, upon which others of those duties are founded, be not carried to an extent injurious alike to the income of the state and the interests of the people. Her Majesty is desirous, also, that you should consider the laws which regulate the trade in corn. It will be for you to determine whether these laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuations of the supply; whether they do not embarrass trade, derange the currency, and by their operation diminish the comfort and increase the privations of the great body of the community."

Retiring thus with all possible advantages, the Whigs laid upon Sir Robert Peel the task of repairing their faults and making good their promises. He was required to re-establish authority and to reform the laws; to supply deficits and to lighten the burdens of the people.

For five months, Sir Robert Peel studied the great questions which it was his duty to solve. Eager to resume the always easy rôle of an opposition, the Whigs reproached him for his dilatoriness. "What has been your neglect of duty," he retorted, "in permitting five years to elapse without bringing



forward on the part of a united government, a proposition for the remedy of these abuses! . . . I do wish that the noble lord had taken the sense of the House of Commons—elected under his advice and under his auspices—with respect to the reasonableness and justice of the demand which I make upon its confidence, and had thus enabled me to judge whether the House of Commons approves or disapproves of the course which I mean to pursue.”

Parliament was, however, prorogued before Sir Robert Peel had stated his plans. It met again on the 3d of February, 1842, with unusual interest and enthusiasm. The Queen had recently given birth to the Prince of Wales, and a strong monarchical feeling animated both the nation and the Houses: addresses of affectionate congratulation were voted both to the Queen and to Prince Albert.

Fortuitous and fleeting though they are, ebullitions of public joy are always serviceable to the administration which is in power at the moment. Addresses in reply to the Queen's speech were voted in both Houses with entire unanimity. They announced that measures would be at once proposed for the restoration of an equilibrium between the expenses of the State and its revenues, for the revision of the tariff and of the corn-laws, for the amendment of the bankrupt law, for the registration of voters, for regulating the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and for affording to the distress of certain manufacturing districts all the relief that legislation could apply. All hesitation and all slowness now ceased in the action of the Cabinet; it immediately set the Houses at work, and for more than six months, Sir Robert Peel was constantly in the breach, either to explain and defend his plans in respect to the great questions under discussion, or to meet the attacks of the opposition, and all the other incidents of government.

The means which he adopted to restore the balance in the

finances of the State was the re-establishment of the income tax, a tax on all incomes above £150 a year, a measure originally carried by Mr. Pitt in 1793. The tax which Mr. Pitt had proposed and obtained was, however, at the rate of ten per cent., while Sir Robert Peel desired but three per cent. He insisted unflinchingly upon his demand; it was, in his eyes, a question of national honor as well as of administrative prudence.

“We live,” he said, “in an important era of human affairs. There may be a natural tendency to overrate the magnitude of the crisis in which we live or those particular events with which we are ourselves conversant; but I think it impossible to deny that the period in which our lot and the lot of our fathers has been cast—the period that has elapsed since the outbreak of the first French Revolution, has been one of the most memorable periods that the history of the world will afford. The course which England has pursued during that period will attract for ages to come the contemplation, and, I trust, the admiration of posterity. That period may be divided into two parts of almost equal duration; a period of twenty-five years of continued conflict, the most momentous which ever engaged the energies of a nation, and twenty-five years, in which most of us have lived, of profound European peace, produced by the sacrifices made during the years of war. . . . My confident hope and belief is, that, following the example of those who preceded you, you will look your difficulties in the face, and not refuse to make similar sacrifices to those which your fathers made, for the purpose of upholding the public credit. You will bear in mind that this is no casual and occasional difficulty; you will bear in mind that there are indications amongst all the upper classes of society of increased comfort and enjoyment—of increased prosperity and wealth; and that, concurrently with these indications, there exists a mighty evil, which has been growing up for the last seven years, and which you are now







called upon to meet. If you have, as I believe you have, the fortitude and constancy of which you have been set the example, you will not consent with folded arms to view the annual growth of this mighty evil. You will not adopt the miserable expedient of adding, during peace, and in the midst of these indications of wealth and increasing prosperity, to the burdens which posterity will be called upon to bear. . . . .

“Your conduct will be contrasted with the conduct of your fathers under difficulties infinitely less pressing than yours. Your conduct will be contrasted with that of your fathers, who, with a mutiny at the Nore, a rebellion in Ireland, and disaster abroad, yet submitted with buoyant vigor and universal applause (with the funds as low as 52) to a property tax of ten per cent. I believe that you will not subject yourself to an injurious or an unworthy contrast. . . . .

“My confident hope and belief is, that now, when I devolve the responsibility upon you, you will prove yourselves worthy of your mission — worthy to be the representatives of a mighty people. You will not tarnish the fame which it is your duty to cherish as the most glorious inheritance. You will not impair the character for fortitude, for good faith, which, in proportion as the empire of opinion supersedes and predominates over the empire of physical force, constitutes for every people, but above all for England, the main instrument by which to repel hostile aggressions and maintain extended empire.”

The Houses thought and felt with the minister, who honored them by trusting to their integrity; the great party that marched under Sir Robert Peel's leadership accepted the burden which he laid upon them, and order was re-established in the public finances.

At the outset, and in appearance, the second of the measures proposed by the new minister was less serious: it consisted in the revision of the tariff. Twelve hundred articles were

comprised in the new list; the duties were reduced on seven hundred and fifty articles, and these reductions added to the reduced duties on coffee and on timber for building would, it was calculated, entail a loss of one million and forty thousand pounds on the exchequer.

“Many gentlemen, who are strong advocates of free trade,” said Sir Robert Peel, “may consider that I have not gone far enough. I believe that on the general principle of free trade there is now no great difference of opinion, and that all agree in the general rule that we should purchase in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest; . . . but it is impossible, in dealing with such immense and extensive interests, to proceed always by a strict application of the general principle. I believe that the true friends to the general principle will argue that it is not expedient or proper to propose such a change as to cause general complaint and excite a strong sympathy. . . . We have proceeded with such care and caution as to produce as small an amount of individual suffering as was compatible with the end in view. . . . I sincerely hope that the general result of this and the other measures will be ample compensation for any individual suffering that may be inflicted; and that they will increase the demand for the employment of industry, and thus increase the means of the people to command the comforts and necessities of life. We have made this proposal at a time of very considerable financial embarrassment; but in doing so we have set an example to Europe, we have declared that we will not seek to improve our finances by increasing the duties on imports; we have trusted to other means for replenishing our exchequer.”

Sir Robert Peel had judged correctly in thinking that the advocates of free trade would find his reforms insufficient; they directed their attacks against the modifications made by the Tory minister in respect to the legislation on corn. He had

maintained the principle of the sliding-scale of duties on the importation of foreign corn, modifying it in the liberal direction. The Whigs, with Lord John Russell as their spokesman, proposed the substitution of a fixed duty for the sliding-scale; Mr. Villiers, Mr. Cobden, and the radicals demanded the complete abolition of all duties upon corn. Mr. Christopher, in the name of the ardent partisans of protection, required that at every step of the sliding-scale the rates should be raised. Sir Robert Peel firmly supported the propositions of the ministry. Without vehement confidence, without self-deception, without charlatanry, he proposed his plan as the most equitable compromise between the conflicting interests, but promised neither to himself nor to others the final reconciling of these interests, or the cessation of the distress of the working classes in certain parts of the country.

He was evidently perplexed, although resolute, and extremely harassed in his mind between his ardent desire to ameliorate the condition of the working classes, and the consideration that he owed, not only as a matter of parliamentary prudence, but also in justice and permanent necessity, to the landed interest and the national agriculture. These perplexities created embarrassments for him among the members of his Cabinet; as soon as he manifested his intention to reduce the protective duties of the sliding-scale, the Duke of Buckingham, to whom he had given office as the most devoted representative of the agricultural interest, resigned, and the Tory party divided in the vote upon the amendment. Lord Palmerston took a malicious pleasure in calling attention to these difficulties of the Conservative party, suddenly abandoned, he said, by the leader to whom they had given their confidence. Sir Robert Peel haughtily vindicated his right to freedom of thought and action. "You told me last year," he exclaimed, replying in the House of Commons to Lord Palmerston, "that I must be an instrument in the hands of



others, and that the power was denied me of enforcing my own principles. I declared then, as I declare now, that I consider office, its power, its distinction, its privileges, as nothing worth, except as the instrument of effecting public good. If it is to be held by sufferance, if it can be retained only on the condition of abandoning my own opinions and obeying the dictates of others, it will not be held by me. My reward for all the sacrifices it entails is the prospect of that honorable fame which can only be attained by steadily pursuing the course which, according to the best conclusions of our fallible judgment, we honestly believe to be for the welfare of the country. . . . It is not by subserviency to the will of others, it is not by the hope of conciliating the temporary favor of majorities, that such fame can be acquired; and in spite of all the noble lord has said, in spite of the rumors he has heard of concealed dissatisfaction among our supporters, we have the proud satisfaction of knowing that we retain their confidence while we claim for ourselves the privilege of acting on our own opinions. From the commencement of the session to its close, we have received that generous support which has enabled us to overcome every difficulty, to carry triumphantly every measure we have proposed. There may have been shades of difference, there may have been occasional dissatisfaction and complaint; but I have the firm belief that our conduct in office has not abated one jot of that confidence on the part of our friends which cheered and encouraged us in the blank regions of opposition; and next to the approval of our own consciences and to the hope of future fame, the highest reward we can receive for public labors is their cordial support and their personal esteem."

The confidence of Sir Robert Peel in his adherents was sincere and, to a certain extent, well-founded. In spite of evident differences of opinion and manifestations of ill-temper, the main body of the party had remained, and did remain, faithful to him;



necessary to one another, agreeing in the fundamental principles of government, the leader and the majority of his army marched together, without asking questions; they made no attempt to deceive one another, but they avoided undeceiving each other, and covered their dissensions and their disappointments with concessions or with silence. At the same time, useful as was this patient moderation, the situation was a false one, and could not last without becoming worse as it became more manifest. In Parliament the peril was beginning to appear; in the nation, two important facts, the Anti-Corn-Law League and the condition of Ireland, now hastened the march of events, and forced Sir Robert Peel to move more rapidly down the slope upon which he had entered.

Bolton, in the county of Lancaster, not far from Manchester, a second-rate manufacturing town, having, however, fifty thousand inhabitants, had been plunged by the commercial crisis into the severest distress. Disorder and crime, as well as suffering, went on increasing with frightful rapidity in this unhappy town. Nearly one-fourth of the houses stood empty, and the prisons were crowded with inmates. Parliament instituted inquiry into the extent and cause of this distress. Bolton was at this time represented in the House of Commons by Dr. Bowring, a political economist, enthusiastic, intelligent, indefatigable, ardently devoted to the cause of free trade, and supported in his philanthropic zeal by his gratification at notoriety. The evil remained, and no remedy for it appeared. In August, 1838, an old physician, Dr. Birney, gave notice that he would deliver a lecture in the theatre in Bolton, on the Corn-Law and its effects. A crowd filled the building, but the speaker, seized with sudden embarrassment, was unable to proceed. Disappointment and displeasure, in an audience already so disheartened, soon changed to anger. A riot seemed about to begin, when a young surgeon, Mr. Paulton, sprang upon the platform, and began to pour forth

an eloquent invective against the Corn-Law which was inflicting so much suffering upon the working classes. The assembly listened and applauded with ardor. He was requested to repeat his address on another occasion. Dr. Bowring invited the young man to come to Manchester, where a committee had just been formed among the manufacturers for the purpose of investigating the public distress and suggesting means to remedy it. Mr. Paulton was sent by this committee on a tour through the principal manufacturing districts of England, with the design of inspiring everywhere the same zeal for the same objects. The Chamber of Commerce at Manchester addressed to Parliament a petition, desiring the complete and immediate abolition of the Corn-Law. Twenty-five thousand signatures were attached to a sort of declaration of war against these acts, and a permanent association was organized among the manufacturers for the prosecution of their object. A periodical publication was established, and a staff of lecturers employed to disseminate their view, a subscription of fifty thousand pounds being promptly raised to meet the expenses of the work.

Thus began the formal organization of public feeling in behalf of an interest and an idea.

An idea, however, is nothing without a man. Immediately one was found for the dawning institution. This was Richard Cobden, a manufacturer of printed calicoes, who had been for a few years established in Manchester, and had at once distinguished himself by his acute, upright, and fertile intellect, and by his clear, animated, natural and bold eloquence, as well as by his honorable character and industrial success. He was popular and a man of wealth, and represented the borough of Stockport in the House of Commons. That union of instinct and prompt judgment which characterizes powerful minds and true missions, taught Mr. Cobden, upon his entrance into the association, that, in order to succeed, it must become general and national, in-

stead of remaining local and provincial, and that it must have for its headquarters the great centre of the country and the government, that is to say, London.

In this he succeeded, but without destroying the influence of Manchester; and the aim and principles of the association, its conditions and means of success, were debated and proclaimed in a sphere much more elevated and extensive than that in which it had originated.

At one of these meetings Mr. Cobden had been describing the Hanseatic League, and other similar associations formed in the Middle Ages for the purpose of resisting aristocratic oppression and protecting the working classes. "Why do we not have a League?" cried some one in the audience. "Yes," rejoined Cobden, "an Anti-Corn-Law League." The suggestion was promptly and enthusiastically adopted; it spread rapidly wherever the Manchester movement had penetrated; and the association henceforth had a striking name, a popular leader, unity, and grandeur. The London Times, which had hitherto taken little notice of the movement, changed its tone, and announced solemnly that the League was "a great fact;" adherents multiplied and subscriptions became daily more considerable. It was finally resolved to form a new fund of one hundred thousand pounds, and at the first meeting held in Manchester more than one-eighth of this sum was immediately subscribed.

At its very beginning, however, the League encountered a serious danger; this was the claim of the Chartists to lead in all assemblies for reform, and to proclaim everywhere their principles and their projects. They refused to enter into any alliance with the League for the purpose of obtaining free trade, the sole aim of that organization; and they plunged its chiefs, the manufacturers, into the most extreme perplexity by counselling the factory-hands everywhere to suspend work, it being certain, they said, that when all sources of production and revenue were



thus dried up, government would be forced to give way, and to grant to the working classes whatever they might choose to demand. This advice bore fruit in several weeks of idleness and disorder, fatal to the work-people themselves and dangerous for the manufacturing interest which protected free trade. Mr. Cobden and his friends deplored a disturbance which the general distress and the ravings of the Chartist leaders had brought about; they kept scrupulously aloof from it, and gladly resumed their own work when liberty of action had been restored to them by the subsidence of the Chartist agitation, and the general return of the factory-hands to their work.

Public addresses became numerous in London, and soon in other cities of the kingdom; at stated periods the most distinguished political economists, in the presence of crowded audiences, attacked the existing legislation, claiming free trade in the name of principles and interests, of science and of charity. The violence of the orators was extreme at times, a violence possible only among a people long accustomed to the exercise of liberty within the limits of a strongly established order. Mr. W. J. Fox, who shortly after became a member of the House of Commons, spoke thus, in Covent-Garden Theatre: "It is something, it is much to many here, that, through every station, in every rank of life, the pressure is felt; the demon seems to be omnipresent, and they cannot escape his pestiferous influence. But even this is not the deadliest influence of the Corn-Laws. Did one want to exhibit it in this great theatre, it might be done; not by calling together such an audience as I now see here, but by going out into the by-places, the alleys, the dark courts, the garrets and cellars of the metropolis, and by bringing thence their wretched and famished inhabitants. One might crowd them here — boxes, pit, and galleries, — with their shrunk and shrivelled forms, with their wan and pallid cheeks,



with their distressful looks, — perhaps with dark and bitter passions pictured in their countenances, — and thus exhibit a scene that would appall the stoutest heart, and melt the hardest; a scene that we would wish to bring the prime minister upon the stage to see, and we would say to him, ‘There, delegate of majesty! Leader of legislators! Conservator of institutions! Look upon that mass of misery. That is what your laws and power, if they do not create, have failed to prevent, have failed to cure or mitigate!’ And supposing this to be done, — could this scene be realized, — we know what would be said. We should be told, ‘There has always been poverty in the world; there are numerous ills that laws can neither make nor cure; whatever is done, much distress must exist.’ They will say, ‘It is the mysterious dispensation of Providence, and there we must leave it.’ I would say to the premier, if he used such arguments, ‘Hypocrite, hypocrite! urge not that plea yet, you have no right to it. Strike off every fetter upon industry, take the last grain of the poison of monopoly out of the cup of poverty; give labor its full rights; throw open the markets of the world to an industrious people; and then, if, after all, there be poverty, you have earned your right to qualify for the unenviable dignity of a blasphemer of Providence!’”

When an idea has been thus transformed into a passion and a virtue, when the element of truth contained in it thus completely effaces and obliterates all objections and all the other truths which limit it, deliberation and discussion are at an end; there is nothing left but to act; its partisans advance; they rush forward. The League made rapid progress, recruiting new and unexpected adherents. In the agricultural regions, and notably in Dorsetshire, meetings were held of farm-laborers, those especial favorites of protection, who related their own distresses, almost equal to those of the manufacturing classes. “I be protected,” cried a peasant at one of these meetings, “and I be starving!”

Sir Robert Peel followed with sympathetic but anxious eyes this great movement. A friend of the principles on which the League was founded, he was, nevertheless, shocked by the violence of its language and the impatience of its demands; he did not regard the Corn-Law as the source of all the public distress, nor free trade as a remedy for all the miseries which, in afflicting the country, grieved him to the heart. The anger and alarm of the high-Tories redoubled; their attacks against Peel for "the treason he had already consummated, and his obscure designs," became every day more violent. He was irritated rather than intimidated by these attacks; but in the midst of this party turmoil, in the presence of so many hostile or compromising passions, of so many problems and doubtful points, he judged it wiser to slacken rather than to hasten his advance in the difficult road upon which he had entered. He announced publicly that her Majesty's government did not have it in contemplation to propose extensive changes in the Corn-Laws.

The irritation of the leaders of the League was extreme; and the attacks against Sir Robert became personal. He, however, remained persistently silent, only letting the restored equilibrium of the public finances speak for him, and the progressive abatement in the tax on a great number of articles of commerce. The income-tax was, however, still maintained, and the Corn-Law received no modification. The reserved character of the minister, his habits of reflection and solitary resolve, weighed equally upon his disturbed and disorganized party and upon his uneasy and suspicious adversaries. The Tories had a deep-seated conviction that Sir Robert Peel was removing himself from their cause and from their control, ruled by higher considerations than the spirit of party; the Whigs dared not yet count upon his support, and sought at one time to urge him into the path where they themselves walked; at another, to supplant him in the exercise of power. All were conscious of the approach

of a great crisis in the interior administration of England, ordained not by political or social theories, but by a sentiment more elevated and more imperative, — the greatest good of the greatest number of human beings recognized as the supreme aim of human society and government. Such was the supreme law of which Sir Robert Peel made himself the minister; its weight rested also upon all his opponents, some of them ruled as he was by this grand idea, others intimidated and paralyzed by it, as it was more or less clearly presented to their minds, either as an incontestable law or as an irresistible fact. This is, *par excellence*, the democratic dogma of our day; and it will be the glory of Sir Robert Peel, as it was his chief element of strength, that he was its most reasonable, honest, and, for a well-regulated state, its boldest representative.

There was, however, great impatience at the delays and persistent hesitation ascribed to the prime minister. The distress of the agricultural laborers was the favorite argument of the advocates of free trade, and Mr. Cobden gave notice that he should ask for the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the causes of this distress. Asserting that the farmers were as much manufacturers as the weavers or the cotton-spinners, he appealed to the support of the English aristocracy.

"Your fathers led our fathers," he exclaimed; "you may lead us if you will go the right way. But, although you have retained your influence with this country longer than any other aristocracy, it has not been by opposing popular opinion, or by setting yourself against the spirit of the age. In other days, when the battle and the hunting-field were the tests of manly vigor, your fathers were first and foremost there. . . . You have always been Englishmen. You have not shown a want of courage and firmness when any call has been made upon you. This is a new era. It is the age of improvement; it is the age of social advancement, not the age for war or for



feudal sports. You live in a mercantile age, when the whole wealth of the world is poured into your lap. You cannot have the advantages of commercial rents and feudal privileges, but you may be what you always have been if you will identify yourselves with the spirit of the age. If you are indifferent to enlightened means of finding employment for your own peasantry; if you are found obstructing that advance which is calculated to knit nations more together in the bonds of peace, by means of commercial intercourse; if you are found fighting against the discoveries which have almost given breath and life to material nature, and setting up yourselves as obstructions of that which destiny has decreed shall go on, — why, then, you will be the gentry of England no longer, and others will be found to take your place.”

It was Mr. Sidney Herbert, and not the prime minister, who replied to Mr. Cobden, and the Tories accused the latter of abandoning more and more their cause. Mr. Disraeli, like a bold and capable scout, dashed forward in advance of the main body which one day he was destined to lead. “I remember,” he said, “to have heard the right honorable baronet at the head of the government say that he would sooner be the leader of the gentlemen of England than possess the confidence of sovereigns. We don’t hear much of the gentlemen of England now. But what of that? They have the pleasures of memory — the charms of reminiscence. They were the right honorable baronet’s first love, and though he may not kneel to them now as in the hour of passion, still they can recall the past. He does what he can to keep them quiet; sometimes he takes refuge in arrogant silence, and sometimes he treats them with haughty frigidity; and if they knew anything of human nature, they would take the hint and shut their mouths. But they won’t. And what then happens? The right honorable baronet, being compelled to interfere, sends down his valet, who says in







Engraved by J. H. B.

1844

*The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> G. B. G. G.*

the genteelest manner, 'We can have no whining here.' And that is exactly the case of the great agricultural interest — that beauty whom everybody wooed, and one deluded. There is a fatality in such charms, and we now seem to approach the catastrophe of her career. For my part, if we are to have free trade, I, who honor genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the honorable member from Stockport (Mr. Cobden), rather than by one who, by skilful parliamentary manœuvres, has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and a great party. For myself, I care not what may be the result. Dissolve, if you please, the Parliament you have betrayed, and appeal to the people, who, I believe, mistrust you. For me there remains this at least — the opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief that a conservative government is an organized hypocrisy."

The progress of the League, meanwhile, was as great as its most enthusiastic advocates could desire. Instead of being worn out by its protracted duration, the movement grew daily stronger and more general. The country districts united with the towns, working-men with their employers, laborers with political economists. It was no longer a question local in extent, and special as regards legislation; free trade became a passion, democratic as well as scientific, and, in the instinct of the people as well as by the ratiocination of the learned, an affair of national interest.

Sir Robert Peel had really not decided on his course, in spite of the efforts of those who believed they could read in his mind a secret tendency towards the reform which they demanded. Mr. John Bright, recently become a member of the House of Commons, and one of the most eloquent advocates of free trade, asserted this publicly in one of the Covent Garden meetings. "Sir Robert Peel," said Mr. Bright, "knows well enough what is wanted. . . . He has not been for nearly forty years in

public life, hearing everything, reading everything, and seeing almost everything, without having come to a conclusion that, in this country of twenty-seven millions of people, and with an increase of a million and a half since he came into power in 1841, a law which shuts out the supply of food which the world would give to this population cannot be maintained; and that, were his government ten times as strong as it is, it must yield before the imperious and irresistible necessity which is every day gaining upon it. From his recent speech I would argue that he intends to repeal the Corn-Laws. He cannot say what he does, and mean ever to go back to the old foolish policy of protection. . . . He sprang from commerce, and until he has proved it himself, I will never believe that there is any man — much less will I believe that he is the man — who would go down to his grave, having had the power to deliver that commerce, and yet, not having had the manliness, the honesty, and the courage to do it.”

The hopes which the partisans of free trade founded upon Sir Robert Peel, and the advances, mingled with reproaches, which they had made towards him, disturbed and excited the Whig chiefs, long accustomed to lead in popular reforms, but up to this time faithful to the theory of a fixed tariff, moderately protective of native products. Lord John Russell was the first to make it a point of honor to carry forward that flag of Reform which he had borne so proudly. On the 26th of May, 1845, he proposed in the House of Commons eight resolutions which touched upon all the questions then occupying public attention, — the Corn-Laws, general freedom of trade, public education, colonization, the law in respect to the parochial settlement of the poor, — opening out prospects in every direction, and lavishing hopes, but without indicating any precise measures or any fixed conditions, the vague manifesto of a bold and noble ambition, eager to grasp the supreme authority and promising to



make good use of it, without defining, or indeed taking much pains to determine, what that use should be.

Almost at the same time, Mr. Villiers moved for the complete and immediate abolition of the Corn-Laws. Sir Robert Peel put aside the vague, liberal resolutions of Lord John Russell, as well as the radical proposal of Mr. Villiers. He introduced into the debate moral views distinct from the strict principles of free trade, and of a higher range than the arguments on which his adversaries relied. "Under the existing state of the law," he said, "there has grown up a relation between landlord and tenant which does not rest merely on pecuniary considerations. . . . According to the principles for which the honorable gentleman opposite contends, I apprehend that he would say, 'Let the landlord make as much out of his land as he can; he has a right to do that.' On the same principle he has a right, commercially speaking, on the termination of a lease, to let his land for the utmost he can get for it; let there be no reference to the relations that have existed, perhaps for centuries, between him and the family that occupies the land; let him have no regard for the laborer; let him take the man who can do most for his ten or twelve shillings a week; let the old and feeble receive no consideration, because they cannot perform the labor which the young, the healthy, and the active can do. Though the land may be so regarded, yet, in everything but a purely commercial sense, in a social and moral point of view, I should deeply regret it. It would alter the character of the country, and would be accompanied by social evils which no pecuniary gain, no strict application of a purely commercial principle, could compensate."

Lord John Russell was not, however, convinced, and his ardor for the fray increased with the reticence observed by Sir Robert Peel. On the 22d of November, a rainy autumn having aggravated the general distress by a late and insufficient harvest,

Lord John Russell, in a letter to his constituents of the city of London, suddenly abandoned the principle of a fixed and moderate duty on foreign corn, and passed completely over to the radical camp, announcing himself, like Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden, the advocate of unlimited free trade. With him went other leaders of the Whig party. The surprise was great, and the anger no less, among the Conservatives, on seeing the forces of their adversaries thus reinforced. For a moment Sir Robert Peel believed that he had carried his Cabinet with him in a bold resolve to suspend at once the operation of the Corn-Laws, but he failed. Two days later the ministry resigned, and Lord John Russell was called to form a new one.

The chief of the retiring Cabinet wrote thus to the queen :

“Sir Robert Peel presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and influenced by no other motive than the desire to contribute, if possible, to the relief of your Majesty from embarrassment, and to the protection of the public interests from injury, is induced to make to your Majesty this confidential communication explanatory of Sir Robert Peel’s position and intentions with regard to the great question which is now agitating the public mind. . . . .

“On the 1st of November last, Sir Robert Peel advised his colleagues, on account of the alarming accounts from Ireland and many districts in this country as to the failure of the potato crop from disease, and for the purpose of guarding against contingencies which, in his opinion, were not improbable, humbly to recommend to your Majesty that the duties on the import of foreign grain should be suspended for a limited period, either by Order in Council, or by legislative enactment; Parliament, in either case, being summoned without delay.

“Sir Robert Peel foresaw that this suspension, fully justified by the tenor of the reports to which he has referred, would compel during the interval of suspension the reconsideration of the Corn-Laws.

“If the opinion of his colleagues had then been in concurrence with his own, he was fully prepared to take the responsibility of suspension and of the necessary consequence of suspension, a comprehensive review of the laws imposing restrictions on the importation of foreign grain and other articles of food, with a view to their gradual diminution and ultimate removal.

“He was disposed to recommend that any new laws to be enacted should contain within themselves the principle of gradual reduction and final repeal.

. . . . “Sir Robert Peel will support measures founded on that general principle, and will exercise any influence he may possess to promote their success.”

This was to play into Lord John Russell’s hands; still the latter was anxious to obtain more explicit engagements on the part of the great rival who now proposed to become his ally. Sir Robert Peel refused; again claiming that liberty of thought and action upon which he had always insisted. A serious disagreement between two of the persons selected prevented Lord John Russell from forming a Cabinet, and the queen recalled Sir Robert Peel. He accepted anew the task confided to him; and Lord Stanley was the only one among the ministers who felt it his duty to persist in his resignation of office. By the formal declarations both of Lord John Russell and of Mr. Cobden, the conservative party now found themselves obliged to choose between a sudden and absolute reform, and one of those measured and gradual reforms, which, amid the greatest tumult of conflicting interests and opinions, the government, the aristocracy and the people of England have so often had the wisdom to accept and accomplish.

But neither the conservative party, nor the opposition — Whig or Radical, — nor the people of England, nor Sir Robert himself, were this time in a considerate and foreseeing temper of mind. For four years the conservative party had been slowly going to



pieces under the weight of the sacrifices which Sir Robert Peel demanded of it, and the repugnant tasks which he had imposed upon it without making them easier by any complaisance or confidence, by any skilful use of personal influence. Private interests now defended themselves hotly, taking no heed of the alleviations which the ministerial project offered them. The agricultural interest was not the only one attacked by his measures; for nearly all manufactures, as well as for the articles of food, the protective system was abandoned. In regard to the principal kinds of grain, instead of at once and completely abolishing the import duties, he contented himself with reducing them, leaving their entire abolition to take effect only after three years.

The prudence of Sir Robert Peel, however, failed of its effect, in the presence of the ardent displeasure of his late friends now become his foes. The schism in the great conservative party had bitter results. A hundred and twelve members only, in the House of Commons, followed Sir Robert Peel in the bold course upon which he had decided. Henceforth, the "Peelites," as they were called, no longer belonged to the ancient ranks of the Tories, and the old edifice of party began to be shaken to its very foundations.

Sir Robert Peel supported his measure in the House with that consummate skill which he possessed in the discussion of affairs, constantly bringing back his auditors to the question from which his opponents were perpetually straying. Mr. Disraeli and Lord George Bentinck directed their attacks in a great measure against the personal character of the minister; he felt these attacks keenly, for with his reserve was mingled a proud and shy sensitiveness; but he continually lifted the debate into the regions of the highest disinterestedness. On the 16th of February, after having for several hours defended his measure in all its details, he concluded as follows:—



“This night is to decide between the policy of continued relaxation of restriction, or the return to restraint and prohibition. This night you will select the motto which is to indicate the commercial policy of England. Shall it be ‘Advance!’ or ‘Recede!’ Which is the fitter motto for this great Empire? Survey our position, consider the advantages which God and nature have given us, and the destiny for which we are intended. We stand on the confines of Western Europe, the chief connecting link between the Old World and the New. The discoveries of science, the improvement of navigation, have brought us to within ten days of St. Petersburg, and will soon bring us within ten days of New York. We have an extent of coast greater in proportion to our population and the area of our land than any other great nation, securing to us maritime strength and superiority. Iron and coal, the sinews of manufacture, give us advantages over every rival in the great competition of industry. Our capital far exceeds that which they can command. In ingenuity, in skill, in energy, we are inferior to none. Our national character, the free institutions under which we live, the liberty of thought and action, an unshackled press spreading the knowledge of every discovery and of every advance in science, combine with our national and physical advantages to place us at the head of those nations which profit by the free interchange of their products. And is this the country to shrink from competition? Is this the country to adopt a retrograde policy? Is this the country which can only flourish in the sickly, artificial atmosphere of prohibition? . . . .

“Choose your motto, Advance! or, Recede! Many countries are watching with anxiety the selection you may make. . . . I counsel you to set them the example of liberality. Act thus, and it will be in perfect consistency with the course you have hitherto taken. Act thus, and you will provide an additional guarantee for the continued contentment,

the happiness, and the well-being of the great body of the people. Act thus, and you will have done whatever human sagacity can do for the promotion of commercial prosperity. You may fail. Your precautions may be unavailing. They may give no certain assurance that mercantile and manufacturing prosperity will continue without interruption. Times of depression must perhaps return, unfavorable seasons, gloomy winters, may set in again; 'the years of plenteousness' may have ended, and 'the years of dearth' may have come; and again you may have to offer the unavailing expressions of sympathy and the urgent exhortations to patient resignation.

"Commune with your own hearts, and answer me this question,—Will your assurances of sympathy be less consolatory, will your exhortations to patience be less impressive, if, with your willing consent, the Corn-Laws shall have then ceased to exist? Will it be no satisfaction to you to reflect, that by your own act you have been relieved from the grievous responsibility of regulating the supply of food? Will you not then cherish with delight the reflection that in this the present hour of comparative prosperity, yielding to no clamor, impelled by no fear,—except indeed that provident fear which is the mother of safety,—you had anticipated the evil day and, long before its advent, had trampled on every impediment to the free circulation of the Creator's bounty?"

The House of Commons adopted Sir Robert Peel's plan by a majority of ninety-eight votes. In the House of Lords it was supported by the Duke of Wellington. "I am aware, my lords," he said, "that I address you on this occasion under many disadvantages. I address your lordships under the disadvantage of appearing here as a minister of the crown, to press this measure upon your adoption, knowing at the same time how disagreeable it is to many of you with whom I have long lived in intimacy and friendship, on whose good opinion I have

ever relied, and whose good opinion I am happy to say it has been my good fortune hitherto to have enjoyed in no small degree. . . . I am aware that I address your lordships at present with all your prejudices roused against me for having adopted the course I have taken, a course which—however little I may be able to justify it to your lordships—I considered myself bound to take, and which if it were to be again adopted to-morrow, I should take again. I am in her Majesty's service, bound to her Majesty and to the sovereigns of this country by considerations of gratitude of which it is not necessary that I should say more to your lordships. It may be true, my lords, and it is true, that, under such circumstances, I ought to have no relation with party, and that party ought not to rely upon me. . . . I have stated to you the motives on which I have acted; I am satisfied with those motives myself; and I should be exceedingly concerned if any dissatisfaction respecting them remained in the mind of any of your lordships. . . . And now, my lords, I will not omit even on this night—probably the last on which I shall ever venture to address to you any advice again—I will not omit to give you my counsel with respect to the vote you ought to give on this occasion. . . . I know the object of the noble lords who are opposed to this bill is that Parliament should be dissolved, that the country should have the opportunity of considering the question, and that it may be seen whether or not the new House of Commons will agree to the measure. Now, really, if your lordships have so much confidence in the result of other elections, I think that you might venture to rely upon those which must occur according to the common course of law, within a twelvemonth from this time; and that you might leave it to the Parliament thus elected to consider the course which it will take on the expiration of the term of the bill now before you, for that bill is to last only till



the year 1849. Do not compel the queen to dissolve Parliament."

The bill was passed by the House of Lords, as it had been by the House of Commons, and the triumph of Sir Robert Peel was complete. The displeasure of the conservative party remained unabated against him, however; and the Whigs had not abandoned their desire to complete by themselves the great work in which they had aided, under the flag of a leader foreign to their party, and but lately hostile to it. Upon the question of the repression of disorders in Ireland an alliance was formed between Lord George Bentinck, the Whigs, and the Radicals. Sir Robert Peel found himself in the minority, but Mr. Cobden had been careful to declare that his vote and that of his friends concerned only the bill in question, and affected in no degree the gratitude that the reform party felt towards Sir Robert Peel.

Four days later, the minister announced in the House of Commons that her Majesty had accepted the resignations of the Cabinet, and had directed Lord John Russell to form a new administration. Recapitulating the various questions that had occupied public attention during the past five years, he concluded as follows:—

"I have now executed the task which my public duty imposed upon me. I trust I have said nothing which can lead to the revival on the present occasion of those controversies which I have deprecated. Whatever opinions may be held with regard to the extent of the danger with which we were threatened from the failure in one great article of subsistence, I can say with truth that her Majesty's government, in proposing those measures of commercial policy which have disintitiled them to the confidence of many who heretofore gave them their support, were influenced by no other motive than the desire to consult the interests of this country. Our



object was to avert dangers which we thought were imminent, and to terminate a conflict which, according to our belief, would soon place in hostile collision great and powerful classes in this country. The maintenance of power was not a motive for the proposal of those measures; for I had not a doubt that, whether those measures were accompanied by failure or success, the certain issue must be the termination of the existence of this government. It is perhaps advantageous for the public interest that such should be the issue. I admit that the withdrawal of confidence from us by many of our friends was a natural result. When proposals are made, apparently at variance with the course which ministers heretofore pursued, and subjecting them to the charge of inconsistency, it is perhaps advantageous for the country and for the general character of public men that the proposal of measures of that kind, under such circumstances, should entail that which is supposed to be the fitting punishment, namely, expulsion from office. I therefore do not complain of that expulsion. I am sure it is far preferable to the continuance in office without a full assurance of the confidence of this House.

“I said before, and I say truly, that in proposing our measures of commercial policy, I had no wish to rob others of the credit justly due to them. I must say, with reference to honorable gentlemen opposite, as I say with reference to ourselves, that neither of us is the party which is justly entitled to the credit of them. There has been a combination of parties generally opposed to each other, and that combination, and the influence of government, have led to their ultimate success. But the name which ought to be associated with the success of those measures, is not the name of the noble lord, the organ of the party of which he is leader. Nor is it mine. The name which ought to be and will be associated with the success of

those measures, is the name of one who, acting, as I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has, with untiring energy, made appeals to our reason, and has enforced those appeals with an eloquence the more to be admired, because it was unaffected and unadorned: it is the name of Richard Cobden.

“I now close the observations which it has been my duty to address to the House, thanking them sincerely for the favor with which they have listened to me in performing this last act of my official career. Within a few hours probably, that power which I have held for the period of five years will be surrendered into the hands of another, — without repining, without complaint on my part, — with a more lively recollection of the support and confidence I have received during several years, than of the opposition which, during a recent period, I have encountered.

“In relinquishing power I shall leave a name, severely censured, I fear, by many who, on public grounds, deeply regret the severance of party ties, — deeply regret that severance, not from interested or personal motives, but from the firm conviction that fidelity to party engagements, the existence and maintenance of a great party, constitutes a powerful instrument of government. I shall surrender power, severely censured also by others who, from no interested motive, adhere to the principle of protection, considering the maintenance of it to be essential to the welfare and interests of the country. I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist who, from less honorable motives, clamors for protection because it conduces to his own individual benefit; but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good-will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labor and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice.”

When, four years later, all England wept the death of Sir Robert Peel, a committee was formed to open among the working-classes a penny subscription for the purpose of erecting to him a "Poor Man's National Monument," and Mr. Cobden proposed that in its inscription should be inserted this last sentence of the speech with which the great minister closed his official career.

## CHAPTER IV.

## IRELAND.

AT the moment when the ministry of Sir Robert Peel went out of office, famine was decimating the population of Ireland, and the Irish question agitated and distressed the sister kingdom. It was the culminating period of a long-continued anxiety and a constant solicitude. The Catholic emancipation had been lately accomplished, as was afterwards to be the trade reform, by the Tory leaders, Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, marching at the head of the Whigs; and with this triumph of liberty and justice, it had been hoped that the violent passions which distracted Ireland would be appeased. Sir Robert Peel had never lost sight of the plan conceived by Mr. Pitt, when, in 1800, he had accomplished the union of the two countries. The emancipation of the Roman Catholics, a fixed endowment assured by the State to the clergy of that faith, and the establishment of public institutions in which they might receive the education which either they now lacked or were forced to seek upon the Continent, were the three measures by means of which it was believed that the union of England and Ireland would be made genuine and effectual. Under the lead of Mr. O'Connell and his agitators, Ireland now demanded something very different: she claimed the repeal of the union itself, and, for the future, her own Parliament once more, and an independent national existence.

The task before the sincere friends of Ireland was most severe. They had to reconstitute the whole system of society,





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and at the same time undo the results of all her history. Out of a mass of victors and vanquished, differing in race, religion, and speech, and after centuries of war or oppression, there must be made a nation of citizens, free and equal, and submissive to government like their neighbors of England and Scotland. All the successive Cabinets which had attempted this task, since the time of Mr. Pitt, had, like him, been deceived in respect to the difficulties of the work; they had sowed broadcast hopes and promises. The Irish troubles had become for England a grave danger; her miseries oppressed the English with a weight of remorse. Animated with an ardent desire to bring to an end this unhappy condition of affairs, they deceived themselves as they did the people of Ireland in respect to the value of their measures, and the efficacy of their promises. The effect of centuries of tyranny cannot be abolished in a day; a people cannot be regenerated by a few laws. The more hopes were held out to Ireland, the more that unhappy country became exasperated at her repeated disappointments. "The union," said Mr. O'Connell, "ought to have been the amalgamation of the two countries, — the identification of the two islands. There should have been no rights or privileges for the one that should not have been communicated to the other. The franchise should have been the same, all corporate rights the same, every civic privilege identical. Cork should have no more difference from Kent than York from Lancashire. That ought to have been the union. That was Mr. Pitt's object." The union had not as yet borne these fruits; the condition of Ireland had never rendered them possible. O'Connell urged the repeal of the union. "The year 1843 shall be the repeal year," he said.

For many years O'Connell governed Ireland, holding all hearts in his powerful hand, swayed by his eloquence and his ardent patriotism. He had sustained the Whig ministry, while often reviling its chiefs, and the agitation that he had fomented

in Ireland, with the number of votes that he commanded in Parliament, assured him a considerable influence in England also. This "uncrowned king," as his fellow-citizens proudly called him, made incessant appeal to the passions of his people, but he preserved a respect for the law that his partisans often ignored. "The man who commits a crime gives strength to the enemy," he was accustomed to say, and all the strength of his mighty nature was exerted to maintain in material order a nation which, at the same time, he goaded to the utmost limits of moral tumult. The task was beyond his ability. Meetings called together to urge the repeal prepared not merely sedition, but the most shocking outbreaks. At a meeting held at Tara, August 15, 1843, five hundred thousand persons, it was said, were assembled to listen to their great orator. O'Connell was more bold and confident than ever before. "The overwhelming majesty of your multitude will be taken to England," he said, "and will have its effect there. . . . The Duke of Wellington talks of attacking us, and I am glad of it. I mean no disrespect to the brave, the gallant, the well-conducted soldiers that compose the queen's army; there is not one of you that has a single complaint to make against any of them. They are the bravest army in the world, and therefore I do not mean to disparage them at all; but I feel it to be a fact that Ireland, roused as she is at the present moment, would, if they made war upon us, furnish women enough to beat the entire of the queen's forces. . . . See how we have accumulated the people of Ireland for this repeal year. When, on the 2d of January, I ventured to call it the repeal year, every person laughed at me. Are they laughing now? It is our turn to laugh at present. Before twelve months more, the Parliament will be in College Green. . . . The Irish Parliament will then assemble, and I defy all the generals, old and young, and all the old women in pantaloons—nay, I defy all the chivalry of the earth—to take away that Parliament from us again."



This was too much; sedition became imminent. O'Connell announced openly, that, legal means being exhausted, Ireland must now depend upon herself. A "monster meeting" was called to meet at Clontarf, near Dublin, on the 8th of October. The entire programme of the day, the march, the arrival, the position, the ordering of the crowds, were formally arranged in advance, with an air of military precision, as if it were, not a popular assembly to be harangued, but an army to be reviewed on the eve of a battle. It was judged both in Dublin and in London that the moment was come to put an end to a situation growing every day more dangerous. The meeting announced at Clontarf was forbidden, and a few days later, Mr. O'Connell, who had used all his power over the people to obtain their obedience to the royal decree, was arrested with his principal associates, their trial being appointed to take place in January, 1844.

The great agitator and his companions were condemned by a jury into which no Roman Catholic had been admitted. They appealed to the House of Lords; the judgment of the court was reversed, and they were set at liberty. But the power of O'Connell over the ardent and excitable people whom he had so long governed was shaken; he had given way before the summons of the English government. A party began to be formed, more blindly Irish than his had been. Henceforth "Young Ireland" had its chiefs and its organs who no longer applauded or obeyed their old leader.

On the 4th of September, O'Connell had been acquitted by the Lords. They had judged, with a magnanimous equity, that he, who had incessantly and violently attacked them, had not received from the tribunal where he had been condemned (February 2), the justice to which he had a right. Just at this time, Sir Robert Peel was presenting to the House the project of an extension of the college of Maynooth, devoted since 1795 to the

education of the Roman Catholic priesthood. "I say, without the least hesitation," he argued, "that you must break up in some way or other that formidable confederacy which exists in Ireland against the British government and the British connection. I do not believe you can break it up by force. You can do much to break it up by acting in a spirit of kindness, forbearance, and generosity. . . . I do not guarantee the vote for Maynooth as a final and complete measure, . . . but I do think it will produce a kindly feeling in Ireland."

In spite of the violent and conscientious opposition of the ultra-Protestants, the bill passed both houses, but without producing on the moral condition of Ireland all those good effects which Sir Robert Peel had promised himself from it. The day was coming when all England was to be interested in behalf of a population so long oppressed, and grown so difficult to serve usefully and rationally. The potato crop had been poor for two years; in 1845, it failed completely. In 1846, famine assumed frightful proportions in Ireland. By formal proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, fifty-eight districts were declared to be in a state of distress. The suffering was so extreme that it is hard to believe even the authentic testimony concerning it. Almost the whole population was occupied in agriculture, holding from the proprietors, mostly absentees, small farms scarcely sufficing to support a family. Nothing but the cheapest of food was within their reach; suddenly this failed, and in a single district, that of Skibbereen, out of a population of 62,000 inhabitants, 5,060 died in the space of three months. At Bantry, the officers whose duty it was to inquire into the causes of deaths, reported at one session forty verdicts: "died of hunger." "I have seen," said an English clergyman, Rev. Mr. Hazelwood, speaking before a meeting in Exeter Hall, "I have seen miserable creatures prick the cattle which they met on the road, and apply their lips to the wound, to appease their hunger by sucking

the animal's blood." Disease was added to famine; a fever, occasioned by lack of food, decimated the population. Meantime, the efforts made in England to relieve the destitution of the Irish, had assumed great and generous proportions. O'Connell, almost dying, and so feeble that his voice could scarcely be heard in the House, though men held their breath to listen, drew a most pathetic picture of the sufferings of his countrymen. "I do not think," he said, "that honorable members are sufficiently impressed with the horrors of the situation of the people of Ireland. I do not think they understand the miseries—the accumulation of miseries—under which the people are at present laboring. Twenty-five per cent. of the whole population will perish, unless the House affords effective relief. They will perish of famine and disease, unless the House does something speedy and efficacious, not doled out in small sums, not in private and individual subscriptions, but by some great act of national generosity, calculated upon a broad and liberal scale. . . . It is asserted that the Irish landlords do not do their duty. Several of them have done their duty, others have not, . . . but recollect how encumbered is the property of Ireland. How many of her estates are in chancery? How many are in the hands of trustees? She is in your hands—in your power! If you do not save her, she cannot save herself. And I solemnly call upon you to recollect that I predict with the sincerest conviction that one-fourth of her population will perish, unless Parliament comes to their relief!"

These last public words of the Irish patriot were spoken on the 8th of February, 1847; he left the House and England, eager to reach Rome, that refuge of so many famous men weary of life, and of so many exiles from their native land. He had not, however, time to arrive there, and died at Genoa, the 15th of May. Like many others, he was a striking example of that sad and noble union of egotism and self-sacrifice, of



sincerity and falsehood, of high-mindedness and vulgarity, of greatness and vanity, which can exist in the human heart!

In 1840, M. Guizot saw O'Connell in London. "I found him," he wrote, "exactly what I expected. I saw him perhaps with pre-conceived ideas, but it is always a good deal if a man answers one's expectations of him. Tall, stout, robust, animated; his head a little sunk between the shoulders; an air of strength and shrewdness; the strength everywhere, the shrewdness in the quick glance, a little stealthy, yet not false; no elegance, yet by no means vulgar; manners slightly embarrassed, yet decided; a certain arrogance even, although concealed. Toward the Englishmen of rank, who were there, he was a little humble and yet imperious; you felt that they had been his masters, and that he had won a power over them; he had undergone their domination and now he was receiving their cordial civilities. Upon being introduced, I said to him: 'You and I, sir, are great proofs of the progress of justice and good sense: you, a Catholic, are a member of the English House of Commons; I, a Protestant, am the French ambassador.' He talked much, relating the history of the temperance movement in Ireland under Father Mathew; drunkards decreasing by thousands, the desire for neat clothing and more civil and decent manners increasing as drunkenness diminished. No one opposed the new movement. I asked him whether this was a caprice of popular whim, or a durable reform. He replied with gravity: 'It will last; we are a persevering race, as they are who have suffered much!'"

The suffering of Ireland was at its climax when Mr. O'Connell died. If he had lived he would have seen all England, Parliament and people alike, moved toward Ireland with a compassion full of a secret remorse, and offering to her with lavish hands their wealth, their sympathy, and their intel-



ligence. It is the honor of Christian civilization that it had made repentance penetrate even the soul of nations. England repented that she had oppressed Ireland; Europe repented of having practised slavery. Pagan antiquity never had these awakenings of the public conscience, these moral enlightenments suddenly changing the hearts of men, and shortly, the social condition. Tacitus could only deplore the loss of the early virtues of Rome, and Marcus Aurelius but shut himself up sadly in the stoical isolation of the sage; nothing indicates that these superior minds had even suspected the great crimes of their society in its best days, and aspired to reform it. The Christian world, from epoch to epoch, sees new truths and new virtues rise upon its horizon, revealing to it at once its grandeur and its faults, and, by purifying it, restoring its youth.

Even before O'Connell had begged for them, England felt herself obliged to those acts of munificence toward Ireland which could alone, if not repair, at least expiate, the wrongs of ages. Parliament was not yet in session, but already immense public works had been ordered and commenced in Ireland, works ill planned, and for the most part without aim or utility, real national charities under the name of employment, useful only for the moment to give bread to the starving and manifest a solicitude to relieve, on the part of those in authority. In the month of January, 1847, five hundred thousand workmen were thus employed in Ireland, each man earning, it was said, nearly sufficient to feed four persons, making in all two millions of individuals fed by government; and on the 25th, when Lord John Russell took up the subject in Parliament, the expense for the month amounted to 700,000 pounds sterling. Parliament endeavored to regulate a little better the object and supervision of these works, and decided that the expense of them should not be levied on Ireland alone, but that England

should bear her part of the burden. Considerable sums were advanced to the Irish proprietors for the purchase of seed, for the drainage of their lands, and the reclamation of bogs. Private endeavors were united with the public effort; everywhere the charitable work of the public kitchens was carried on by English and Irish, women and men, working together for the relief of the starving. As a matter of fact, and for the time, all attempts were insufficient, and the succor brought to the general distress was really but insignificant; everything failed before an abyss of suffering slowly dug by national idleness and improvidence, as truly as by a long-continued foreign oppression. Finally, however, and as Ireland emerged from a terrible epoch, the nation as it was had vanished, with its hopeless poverty. The law in respect to embarrassed estates modified the situation of the Irish land-owners, while emigration opened to the Irish peasantry vast prospects and infinite resources. A new Ireland henceforth began to be founded beyond the seas.

## CHAPTER V.

## FOREIGN POLICY.

SIR ROBERT PEEL had resigned on the rejection of the Bill for the repression of outrages in Ireland, but he had secured in advance the sole efficacious remedies against the distresses which were soon to overwhelm that unhappy country. The principle of Free Trade grew and strengthened itself in the midst of the misfortunes with which those were smitten who had most violently combated it. Not merely were all taxes on the importation of grain suspended, but also the Navigation Laws which restrained the importation by enhancing the price of freight; the most decided partisans of the protective system voted themselves for these measures whose scope they did not, however, fail to perceive. "When the shipping-interest joined the Anti-Corn-Law League in forcing the repeal of the Corn-Laws," said Lord George Bentinck, "I always anticipated that it would find its own turn to come next, and would suffer the penalty of its rashness."

England had thus taken an important step, destined soon to become definitive, in that path of Free Trade which she has opened to all nations. She was the better able to do this, inasmuch as peace prevailed throughout Europe, and her Cabinet was on those intimate and confidential relations with France which simplified and facilitated the solution of all international questions. "I doubt," says M. Guizot, "whether any two governments have ever been more sympathetic than

were at that time the Cabinets of France and England, both in their views of general policy and in their mutual dispositions, or ever had to experience more frequent and delicate trials." Like Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, King Louis Philippe and his Cabinet seriously and sincerely desired peace and justice in the relations of the two kingdoms. During the ministry of Sir Robert Peel, three grave questions menaced the harmony between France and England, — the right of search for the suppression of the slave-trade; the occupation of Tahiti; and the French war in Morocco. The affair of the Spanish Marriage, at that time commencing, was soon to fall into other hands less friendly toward France and her government.

From the date when she had freely and generously abolished slavery throughout the whole extent of her territory, England had taken the lead in the Christian and philanthropic crusade against the slave-trade. The agreements concluded in 1831 and 1833 between France and England, authorized the mutual right of search of vessels suspected of being employed in this barbarous traffic; in 1841, France signed this treaty anew with slight modifications, and Austria, Prussia, and Russia now concurred in it. This was the occasion of violent debates in the French Chambers; the ministry was hotly attacked, and the echo of the strife resounded in England. The ratifications of this treaty had been held back. M. Guizot at first delayed them, and finally refused them absolutely. A new agreement was drawn up at London, between France and England, by the Duc de Broglie and Dr. Lushington. Both were old and well-known advocates of the abolition of the slave-trade; they were also imbued with a spirit of reciprocal kindness and conciliation. On the 29th of March, 1845, the new treaty was signed, and each of the two countries engaged to repress the slave-trade in its own vessels. The right of search was abolished, and the *entente cordiale*, for a moment threatened by ancient prejudices







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and new rancors, emerged stronger than before, from this severe trial of a political disagreement fanned by popular clamors, between two free countries.

While this question of the right of search was still pending, Queen Victoria gave to the king and people of France a proof of her royal sympathy. On Saturday, the 2d of September, 1843, accompanied by Lord Aberdeen, she paid a visit to King Louis Philippe at the Chateau d'Eu. In a letter written at the time, M. Guizot relates the arrival and landing of the queen:—  
“At quarter past five, the queen was in sight; at quarter to six we embarked in the royal cutter, the king, the princes, Lord Cowley, Admiral Mackan, and myself, to go out to meet her. We went out a half mile. The most beautiful sky; the most beautiful sea; the land thronged with all the population of the neighborhood. Our six vessels, all dressed with flags, the French and the English, saluted noisily and gaily, but the guns hardly out-roared the sailors' shouts. We went on board the queen's yacht, the ‘Victoria and Albert.’ The king was much affected, the queen also; he kissed her. She said to me, ‘I am delighted to see you again.’ She came on board the cutter, accompanied by Prince Albert. As we landed, the salutes from the cannon and the shouts of the crews of our war-vessels redoubled. To this was joined the applause of the crowds on shore. Much shaking of hands in the royal tent. Then, carriages and the road. ‘God save the Queen!’ and ‘*Vive la Reine!*’ ‘*Vive la Reine d'Angleterre!*’ as often as ‘*Vive le Roi!*’ One must believe in the power of just and simple ideas. This region is not fond of the English, it is Norman and maritime. In our wars with England it has been two or three times burned, and pillaged I know not how often. Nothing would be easier than to excite here a popular feeling which might embarrass us much; but the people here have said to one another, and it has been repeated over and

over again, 'The Queen of England is doing a polite act towards our king; we must be very polite to her.' This idea has taken possession of all minds, overcoming all memories, passions, temptations, parties. They cry and will continue to cry *Vive la Reine!* and they applaud the 'God save the Queen' with all their hearts. Only it would not be wise to require them to do this for too long a time. . . .

"I may add, however, that another simple and more lasting idea, that of peace and the advantage of being at peace, has become powerful and is daily increasing in force. It prevails among the middle classes and also among the reflective and well-disposed of those in the lower ranks. It is of much use to us at this time. It is often said: 'If you want to have peace, it will not do to make faces at each other and say hard words.' This was felt to-day by everybody on this shore of the channel."

Cordial feeling existed in reality as well as on the surface; the visit ended with all the personal satisfaction and the political effect desired and intended. When the king returned, in October, 1844, the visit Queen Victoria had paid to him at the Chateau d'Eu, the good feeling of the English equalled that of the French.

"On the 8th of October, at seven o'clock, we were in sight of Portsmouth," says M. Guizot, in his *Mémoires*. "No fog; the sky was pure, the sea calm, and the dawning day revealed to us the three cities which surround the harbor, Portsmouth, Portsea, and Gosport, which, from a distance, seemed to make but one. Eight small steam-vessels, sent out the evening before to meet us and take up a position along our route in order to salute us each in its turn on our approach, had now gathered behind us, and followed in our wake. Other vessels, which had been moored in the harbor, came out and joined these. As we advanced our escort increased, and soon the sea was covered with craft of every sort, sailing, steam, and row boats, great vessels,



yachts, cutters, skiffs, so numerous and so eager that the 'Gomez' was forced to slacken speed and take much care to avoid collision with some of them. All these vessels were decorated with flags, French and English side by side,—the crews of them all clinging to the rigging or standing on the decks. All the population assembled along the shores mingled their hurrahs with the salutes from the harbor batteries, the forts, and ships of the line. There was an immense stir and noise in testimony of national and peaceful joy.

“Entering and dropping anchor within the harbor, we waited for the arrival at Gosport of the train by which Prince Albert was coming to meet the king. Meantime, our attention was not unoccupied. The mayor and corporation of Portsmouth, animated by the same sentiment which three weeks before had led the mayor of Liverpool to solicit a visit from the king, had asked and obtained permission to do honor to the arrival of the King of the French in England, by presenting to him an address. This they now did, coming on board the 'Gomez' for the purpose, and withdrew delighted with the reply they received from him, and gratified to have had their personal share in this meeting of two sovereigns and two peoples. This municipal expression of the general feeling occurred four times during the king's journey: at Portsmouth, upon his arrival; at Windsor, during his sojourn there; at Dover, when he left England; and, on the 12th of October, the corporation of the city of London, deeply regretting not having been able to entertain the king in London, sent to Windsor Castle their Lord Mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and municipal officers and councillors, to present to him, in a formal address, their respectful congratulations and good wishes. It was a grand and touching ceremony. The same day I wrote to Paris: 'I have just been present at the presentation of the city's address. The king's reply was extremely well received.

I had written it in the morning and had it translated by M. de Jarnac. In the opinion of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, it was necessary that the speech should be written out, read, and handed immediately by the king to the Lord Mayor. The queen and Prince Albert spent half an hour in the cabinet of the king, reading and correcting the translation. It is like a family intimacy. In the opinion of every one here, the city's address voted unanimously in the Common Council is an unexampled event of great significance. Sir Robert Peel remarked that he was much struck by it.' "

This intimacy between the two royal families, which later was to offer to the French exiles a kind and consoling support, and the cordiality of the relations existing between the two nations, had lately, in the month of October, 1844, passed through two severe trials. England had been much disturbed by the hostile proceedings of France towards the Emperor of Morocco, in consequence of the latter's protection of Abd-el-Kader; and she had also been stirred with indignation on account of an insult offered at Tahiti to an agent of Great Britain, half missionary, half consul, Mr. Pritchard.

"There are two things in regard to which my country is intractable, and in regard to which I am not as free as I could wish," Lord Aberdeen had said to M. Guizot, during the queen's visit at the Chateau d'Eu, "the abolition of the slave-trade, and Protestant propagandism. As to other matters, we have no need for any anxiety except to do what is best, and I will undertake to have it approved. But on those two subjects there are impossibilities in England, and we shall have to be very careful in dealing with them." "I then asked him," says M. Guizot, "what was the strength in the House of Commons of the 'party of the saints'?" "They are all saints on that subject," he replied.

It was the general public sentiment of England that had been

offended by the conduct of French sailors in Oceanica, and now threatened to force the hand of both Cabinets; not that the English government itself was, in the beginning of this affair, keenly interested in the question. In 1827, during the administration of Mr. Canning, England had in set terms refused to take possession of the island of Tahiti, which was offered to her by the native chiefs. She had, therefore, no rights to vindicate against the establishment of the French protectorate, instituted first in 1842, over the Marquesas islands, and later, at Tahiti. Regret and anxiety had, however, long existed on this subject among the Protestant missionaries devoted to the evangelization of these archipelagoes, and their solicitude had extended to their friends in England. For many years Tahiti had been the object of a constant struggle between the Protestant ministers and the Roman Catholic priests. The first upon the ground, the most numerous, and the most successful had been the missionaries of the great "London Society," and they strove hard to maintain their empire. The Admiral du Petit-Thouars interposed in behalf of the Jesuit priests; and shortly it was no longer a question of a French protectorate, for the admiral had taken possession of the sovereignty of the island. Questions asked in the House of Commons irritated and disturbed Sir Robert Peel, himself displeased and anxious at the turn affairs had taken, but the moderation and prudence of the French government dispersed the first storms. The action of the admiral, in taking possession of Tahiti, had been performed without orders from home; it was disowned, and France claimed nothing more than the mere protectorate accepted eighteen months earlier by the native chiefs, and freedom of action and protection were promised to the Protestant missionaries to whom the island owed its regeneration. Sir Robert Peel hastened to acknowledge the friendly conduct of the French Cabinet; while at Tahiti the English missionaries themselves assured the admiral



that, as ministers of the gospel of peace, they regarded it as their imperative duty to exhort the people of these islands to a peaceable and uniform obedience to established authority, considering that by such means their own interests would be best promoted, but more especially, as such obedience is required by the laws of God which the missionaries had hitherto made it their special business to inculcate.

But these pious and reasonable sentiments were unhappily not unanimous. Mr. Pritchard, agent of the mission, and at the same time British consul at Tahiti, had always been excessively hostile to any French and Roman Catholic influence in the island; he exerted all his influence to excite resistance and even sedition against the newly established authority of France. The position of affairs became such that Captain D'Aubigny, provisional commandant at Tahiti, felt it necessary in the temporary absence of Admiral Bruot, the governor, to arrest Mr. Pritchard and place him in solitary confinement in a blockhouse. Upon his return, M. Bruot transferred Mr. Pritchard to an English ship, with the request that he should be taken to England. Returning home, Mr. Pritchard himself carried the news of the treatment that he had received, and the outburst of anger in the Houses was so violent that it even affected Sir Robert Peel himself. His reply to the inquiry of Sir Charles Napier in the House of Commons was extremely severe towards the French government, — from whom he had as yet received no communication on the subject, — publicly announcing his intention to demand reparation for the insult offered to the English consul.

This language of Sir Robert Peel and the public indignation in England occasioned in the French Chambers a debate of great violence, which very nearly overthrew the ministry. When the facts were made plain, France maintained on the one side that she had a right to send away from any colonial





VIEW OF THE CITY OF MOROCCO.



establishment any foreign resident who disturbed the public peace; and on the other, her conviction that the French authorities at Tahiti had had good reason for sending Mr. Pritchard away from the island, he being, besides, no longer the English consul, as he had resigned four months before. The French government, however, acknowledged that the procedures in Mr. Pritchard's case had been unnecessary and objectionable, and offered, as compensation for the inconveniences these procedures had occasioned him, to pay an indemnity, the amount of which should be fixed by the two admirals, French and English, who were in command in the Southern seas.

The English Cabinet, on their part, did not dispute the principle or the facts asserted by the French government, and gave up the idea of sending Mr. Pritchard back to Tahiti, and of demanding the recall of the officer who had banished him. M. Guizot was able to say with truth in the Chamber of Deputies: "Our relations with England are called an *entente cordiale*, a good understanding, friendship, alliance. There is something newer, more uncommon, grander than that, in them. There exist at this moment in France and England two Cabinets who believe that there is room in the world for the prosperity and for the material and moral activity of the two countries; two governments who feel that they are not obliged to regret, to deplore, to dread each other's progress,—that they can, in freely developing their strength of every kind, be mutually helpful instead of harmful, one to the other. And this, which they believe possible and a matter of duty, these two governments really do. They put these ideas in practice; they testify towards each other on every occasion a mutual respect for rights, a mutual regard for interests, a mutual confidence in the other's intentions and words. This is what they do, and this is why the most delicate and serious complications do



not bring about a rupture, nor even a coolness in the relations between the two countries." On the 5th of September, in pro-roguing Parliament, Lord Lyndhurst, the chancellor, said in the queen's name: "Her Majesty has recently been engaged in discussions with the government of the King of the French on events calculated to interrupt the good understanding and friendly relations between her country and France. You will rejoice to learn that by the spirit of justice and moderation which has animated the two governments, this danger has been happily averted."

A wise policy, that of moderation and good sense, had to struggle in England against the uneasiness of a selfish patriotism, as well as against the susceptibilities of the Protestant propagandism; the successes of France in Africa were the object of popular jealousy and suspicion. The Emir Abd-el-Kader, the indomitable defender of Arab independence and the Mussulman faith in Algeria, had been defeated and driven back at every point, and had taken shelter behind the uncertain frontier of Morocco, whence he incessantly carried on or recommenced hostilities. At one time, with his vagrant bands, he made sudden incursions into the regency of Tunis; at another, he excited the native fanaticism of the people of Morocco, and persuaded them to unite with him against the French troops. He had, too, a great influence over the Emperor of Morocco, Abd-el-Rhaman, himself, now leading him to share in his Mohammedan fanaticism, now filling him with alarm against the French and against his own subjects. In vain did the Governor-General of Algeria, Marshal Bugeaud, address his just remonstrances to the government of Morocco: the Emperor Abd-el-Rhaman was powerless to make himself obeyed, and the audacity of the emir increased by impunity. A band of the emperor's soldiers attacked the camp of General Lamoricière; they were promptly repulsed, but the patience of Marshal Bugeaud was exhausted.





E. K. J. AT

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MARSHAL BUGEAUD.



He demanded from the Emperor of Morocco an exact drawing of boundaries between his state and Algeria, and insisted that Abd-el-Kader should hereafter be kept with his hands on the western side of Morocco. In exacting these conditions of peace, Marshal Bugeaud was at the head of a considerable force. A French squadron, commanded by the Prince de Joinville, was sent to cruise along the coast of Morocco, rather with the design of moral than of physical effect. "The instructions given to his Royal Highness are pacific in their character," wrote M. Guizot to the consul-general of France at Tangier, "and start from this point, that war has not been declared between France and Morocco."

At news of this, however, the excitement in England was great. England had important commercial relations with Morocco; from Tangier, Gibraltar drew most of its supplies, and the safety of the African port was considered important for the English post. For the moment it was believed in England that what had happened in Algeria was now to occur in Morocco, and that a war between France and the African state was but the first step towards conquest. Sir Robert Peel was personally anxious and disturbed, but good sense and justice in his mind, as in that of Lord Aberdeen, triumphed over the first outbreak of the popular excitement. Pressing instructions were sent out from England to the consul-general at Tangier, directing him to bring all the weight of England's influence to bear upon the mind of the emperor, to induce him to attend to the just demands of France, and arrest the course of the war. In case the emperor should not give satisfaction to France, it was to be made plain to him that he could count upon no support whatever from England.

The Emperor Abd-el-Rhaman was in no condition to yield to the demands of France; he was carried away by his own feelings and by the popular fanaticism each day fanned to a higher flame

by the Emir Abd-el-Kader. The frontier posts were reinforced, and the English consul could obtain no decided answer. War was inevitable by sea and land. On the 6th of August, 1844, the Prince de Joinville attacked Tangier, silencing the batteries of the town and destroying the fortifications. On the 15th, he bombarded the city of Mogador at the southern extremity of Morocco, and seizing on the little island at the entrance to the harbor, established a garrison there. The preceding day, at Isly, Marshal Bugeaud had defeated the emperor's army, and the victory being thus complete, the Prince de Joinville immediately opened negotiations. Lord Aberdeen devoted himself to the work of pacifying the ill-humor of Sir Robert Peel and the disquietude of the public mind. The war was ended, and the Morocco question settled, the good understanding between France and England having been in no degree impaired, under the eyes of the English sailors and amid the coming and going of the diplomatic agents of England who were deeply interested in the re-establishment of a peace which the wisdom of the French government, following her success in the campaign, easily secured. "The conduct of the English government in this affair has been most upright, wise, and sincere," said M. Guizot, in the Chamber of Deputies, "and I am glad to take this occasion to render it justice."

It was in the same sincere spirit of moderation and equity that negotiations were opened and for many years carried on between France and England in respect to the marriages of the Queen of Spain, Isabella II., and her sister, Doña Luisa Fernanda. "A glance at the map of Europe is enough to show," says M. Guizot in his *Mémoires*, "how useful to France is the natural alliance existing between her and Spain, and how essential it is to her that Spain should not be drawn into any European combinations hostile to French interests. For four centuries history has reiterated what geography says. The







BATTLE OF ISLAY.

union of Spain with Germany and the Low Countries, under the sceptre or under the dominant influence of Charles V. and of Philip II., made in the sixteenth century the great peril of France. In the seventeenth century, it was the glory of French policy, personified in Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV., that it broke the hostile circle with which France had been surrounded, and removed Spain from the preponderating influence of Germany, by placing on her throne, in accordance with her own desire, a prince of the house of Bourbon. To this grand fact, France owed in the eighteenth century, in spite of some contrary incidents, either the peace of Europe, or else the active assistance of Spain in the struggles in which she was engaged. And in the first years of the nineteenth century, it was by reason of having alienated Spain from France through the excesses and perfidies of his ambition, that the Emperor Napoleon found beyond the Pyrenees a permanent danger, and one of the principal causes of his ruin. Evidently and exactly because of the chances to the contrary arising from the establishment in Spain of the female succession, it became to France a point of the first importance to maintain at Madrid the work done by Louis XIV., and once more to secure the Spanish throne for the house of Bourbon."

It was the ardent wish of Spain, or at least of the moderate party, — that party which had maintained the crown on the head of Queen Isabella, — to draw more closely than ever the bonds uniting the two countries by marrying the young queen to one of the sons of King Louis Philippe. From the first, the king had repulsed this idea, as in 1831 he had refused the throne of Belgium for the Duc de Nemours. He sacrificed without hesitation to the general interest of a true and solid European peace all interests of personal and family aggrandizement, but he was at the same time firmly decided not to sacrifice the special interest that France had in remaining closely connected with Spain;



and the maintenance of the house of Bourbon upon the Spanish throne was evidently the approved and natural method of arriving at this result. Public instinct was no more deceived on this subject in England than in France. The old jealousies against French influence in Spain awakened in all their strength; but the relations of England with the radical party in Spain had been only of recent growth, and Lord Aberdeen at first inclined to absolute neutrality in the question of the marriage of Queen Isabella. "It is a purely domestic affair, with which we have no concern," he said, at first. "Then," said M. Pageat, whose duty it was at that moment to carry the words of the French government from Paris to London, "I can say to the king's government that if Queen Isabella desires to marry her cousin, the Duc d'Aumale, you will not oppose it." "Ah! I did not say that," rejoined Lord Aberdeen quickly; "then it would be a question of the European equilibrium; that would be different."

"I do not know what will happen in Spain," wrote M. Guizot to the French minister at London (March 2, 1842), "but something will happen, and anything may happen. All is disturbed, disorganized, seething. The Carlists, the Christinos, the Esparteristes, the republicans, all are in commotion, and are conspiring together or separately, as heretofore or seeking out new paths. Usurpation, compromises, an exclusive or a divided victory, marriages and protections of every kind, — everything is thought of, hoped for, prepared for. It is a chaos, whence will emerge nothing good in all probability, but which ferments none the less for that, and will give us a great deal of trouble. One of these difficulties, the chief perhaps, is and always will be English jealousies and suspicions. If the two nations could really understand one another, and act in concert, were it but for a time, and with the certainty of afterwards resuming our traditions of rivalry — which are rather puerile at the present day —



the affairs of Spain would soon be arranged. . . . It is the path in which we must always walk, for it is the only one that can bring us to our desired end; if we do not actually reach it, at least we are in the right road, and our own position has always the chance of gaining rather than losing by it."

"Our policy is simple," wrote M. Guizot to the Count de Flahaut, French ambassador at Vienna. "At London, and probably also elsewhere, there is an unwillingness to see one of our princes on the throne at Madrid. We understand this, and we accept it in the interests of the general peace and balance of power of Europe. But, in the same interest, we make our exclusion in turn: we will not see upon the Spanish throne any other than a prince of the House of Bourbon. That House has husbands enough to offer—the princes of Naples, of Lucca, the sons of Don Carlos, the sons of the Infante Don Francisco. We propose none of them, we prohibit none. The one who is agreeable to Spain will please us; but in the circle of the House of Bourbon, that is a French interest of the highest order, and I consider it manifestly also a European interest."

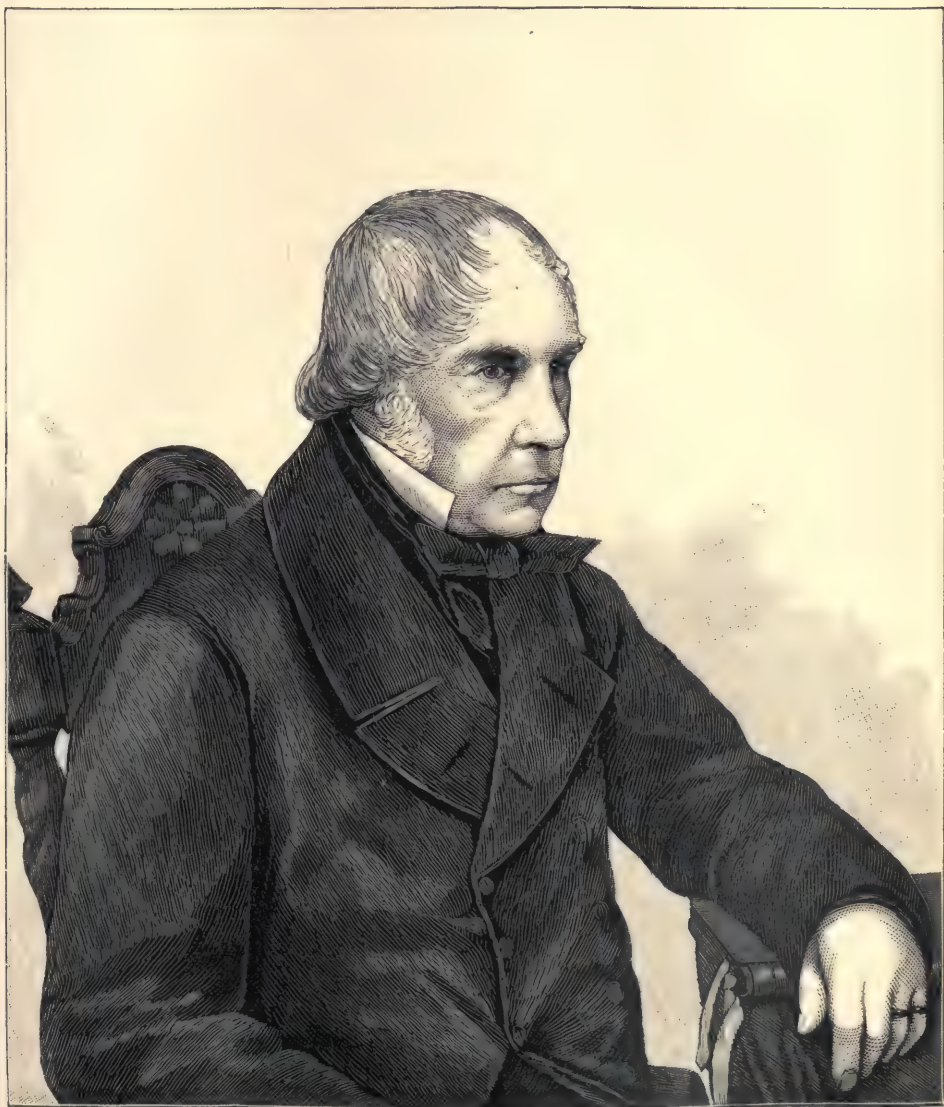
To some language addressed to London, Sir Robert Peel had replied: "I ought to tell you plainly that we have entered into no engagement with the present government of Spain having as its object the exclusion of the House of Bourbon from the Spanish throne. I will add that we have no intention of making any such engagement, and I am free to say that I should regard it as very simple to have it understood at Madrid that, while we have no right to interfere in a question which Spain must finally settle for herself, we advocate a conciliatory policy by which all interests concerned may be satisfied." "They have destroyed all the old methods of government in Spain, and have replaced them by no other," said the Duke of Wellington, with his abrupt good sense; "the two great Powers, England and France, must act in concert for the pacification of Spain."

In the midst of the innumerable difficulties caused every moment by the violent changes of public opinion and the internal agitations of the Spanish government, the determination of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen had remained the same; the increasing intimacy between France and England confirmed them in their friendly intentions, but their action at Madrid remained feeble and embarrassed, the English agents in Spain being at heart opposed to a combination which they believed of a nature to increase the influence of France.

The embarrassment of the English Cabinet did not, however, arise exclusively from their hereditary traditions of distrust and opposition towards the ascendancy of France in Spain; they encountered in England itself, very near the throne, a desire which complicated extremely for them the question of Queen Isabella's marriage, and the negotiations of which it was the object. A cousin of Prince Albert, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, brother to Prince Ferdinand, the husband of the Queen of Portugal, would be, it was believed, a suitable husband for the young Queen of Spain; and this union would assure a good understanding between the courts of Spain and Portugal, and also the preponderance of England in the peninsula.

All, therefore, that the fidelity and loyal persistency of Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel could do was to maintain towards the Spanish court, and in the endless negotiating to which the queen's marriage gave rise, an attitude of friendly neutrality. The secret manœuvres of Sir Henry Bulwer, at that time English ambassador at Madrid, often exceeded these limits, and Lord Aberdeen was careful to inform M. Guizot of them, — a rare testimony to a rare friendship between two statesmen directing the affairs of their respective countries, and commemorated by M. Guizot in the portrait of Lord Aberdeen given in his *Mémoires*.

The policy of England in respect to Spanish affairs was des-



LORD ABERDEEN.





tined to change its character. "On the 29th of June, after having completed the economic reform," says M. Guizot in his *Mémoires*, "the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel resigned office; the Whigs under the leadership of Lord John Russell succeeded to the Tories, and Lord Palmerston took the place of Lord Aberdeen in the foreign office. On the 6th of July, I wrote to Lord Aberdeen: 'I must write you then to say adieu. I did not hope and yet I did expect. It is so deep a grief to me, so keen a regret; one resigns one's self to these things only at the last extremity. You go out gloriously. I heard of your success in the Oregon affair \* with the same joy as if it had concerned myself personally. Your successes were mine. You will probably go to Haddo, and I, in a few days, shall leave for Val Richer. Why can we not share our repose as we have shared our labor? I am sure that, at leisure and at liberty, walking together and talking, with no other end in view than our own pleasure, we should suit each other as well as hitherto we have understood and supported each other in public affairs. But it is so rarely that we can arrange our lives as we desire! We enjoy our friends so little! We meet, we see each other for a moment; then we separate, and each goes his way, bearing affectionate recollections, which soon change into sad regrets. I am, however, firmly resolved that this shall not be a separation between us. I shall write, and you will write me also, will you not? You will be in France again. I shall revisit England. And then, who knows? I trust that often again, no matter in what situation, we shall serve together that rare and good policy which we have made triumph for five years. However it may come about, my dear Lord Aberdeen, it must be that we shall

\* In the last days of his ministry Lord Aberdeen had brought to an equitable adjustment a question in respect to the limits of Oregon territory, which had disturbed the relations of England and the United States, and threatened even to compromise the peace between the two countries.

meet each other again somewhere, and shall understand each other even more freely and intimately than ever before. Meanwhile, preserve all your old friendship for me; let me at least lose nothing in my private capacity. For my part, I love you, and shall love you always with all my heart.'

"My expectations were not deceived; after his retirement from public life and after my own, I lived with Lord Aberdeen in the same intimacy as in the times when we acted in behalf of our two countries in the relations of European politics. We met several times after this in France and in England. I spent a fortnight with him in Scotland at Haddo House, in the long and free conversations of country and home life. He died six years ago, and since his death I have thought of him often. The better I knew him, and the more I proved him, the more he satisfied and attached me. His nature was noble and modest, independent and gentle, deep and subtle, original without affectation, without exaggeration, without pretension. Entering political life while yet young, and in the midst of the great crisis of 1814, he was early a spectator of the grandest scenes of ambition, power, and human destiny, he retained from it all the highest lessons, the spirit of moderation and equity, a respect for the right, a regard for order, the love of peace. This experience of his youth was perfectly in harmony with the bent of his mind and character; conservative by position and by instinct, liberal through justice and kindness of nature, a true and proud Englishman, but neither prejudiced nor jealous, faithful to the traditions of his country, but a stranger to the routine of parties or the public, he was ready to comprehend the situations, the interests, the sentiments of other nations or individuals, and to give them their just due. It was a policy singularly new and bold, but Lord Aberdeen avoided with care the outward show of innovation or boldness; he was averse to noise, he did not seek for display, and aspired to make the right succeed, with

but little care for his own success. He was neither disposed to violent parliamentary strifes, nor was he fitted for them; he had too much scrupulousness in his thought and too little facile power in his words; he did not set questions at rest by prompt solutions and the empire of eloquence; he excelled in unravelling them, calling time, good judgment, and the moral sense to the support of the truth. He loved public life and affairs of importance, but as a man may who keeps all things in their true place and at their just value, and knows how to occupy himself and to take pleasure in the simplest as well as the most brilliant. He had known all the charm and also all the griefs of domestic life, and although surrounded by a numerous family who loved and honored him, and seconded on every occasion by his youngest son, Arthur Gordon, who had become his secretary and confidential assistant, an expression of lasting sadness was stamped upon his grave and gentle face. In first interviews, outside of the family circle, his manner appeared cold and almost severe; but as he permitted you to look a little way into his soul, you became aware of treasures of delicate sympathy and tender emotion, not interfering, however, with the free judgment of one who observed critically and even a little sarcastically, not only in indifferent relations, but even in those which were of the most affectionate nature.

“He loved his fellow-men with a profound sense of their vices and weaknesses as well as of their miseries, and respected free thought as he did human liberty. . . . The great social problem, brought forward more clearly in our time than ever before, is to bring the principles of morality and of science into politics, and to unite, in the government of nations, the respect for divine laws with the progress of human information. Lord Aberdeen is, in our time, one of the men who have most frankly accepted this difficult problem, and who, for their part and in their sphere of action, have most scrupulously sought to resolve



it, — an effort worthy of himself, and one which will be to the honor of his memory as it has been the labor of his life.”

Lord Aberdeen's last care in quitting the ministry of foreign affairs had been to instruct his successor as to the position of the negotiations in Spain, and recommend to him that cordial understanding with France that he had so wisely maintained and so faithfully observed. Lord Palmerston asserted his desire to go on in the same path, but already the spirit that had always directed his policy, and which had always led him to serve the interest exclusively English, betrayed itself in instructions sent to Madrid. Queen Christina and the Spanish government had renounced the idea of an alliance with one of the Neapolitan Bourbons, who had been the favorite candidates of France; also Spain had rejected the scheme favored by Prince Metternich, which consisted in uniting the young Queen Isabella to the son of Don Carlos, the Count de Montemolin, thus uniting the claims of the two branches of the royal house of Spain. Thus, in England, Henry VII. had extinguished the last embers of the War of the Roses by marrying the Princess Elizabeth of York. But the party who had maintained the validity of the will of Ferdinand VII., and placed his daughter upon the throne, would never have admitted this expedient except on condition that the Count de Montemolin should relinquish his royal claims and ask the hand of his cousin merely as an Infante of Spain. Nothing of this kind was done. Queen Christina and her counsellors, therefore, fell back upon a scheme which had some time before been abandoned. They proposed that Queen Isabella should choose one or other of the two sons of the Infante, Don Francisco de Paula; but at the same time, and in order to have a firmer support for their policy than the fickle favor of the Spanish public, they asked of King Louis Philippe, in behalf of the younger Princess of Spain, that which he had already refused to the queen, the hand, namely, of one of his sons.



“The Duke of Cadiz for the queen, and the Duc de Montpensier for the infanta,” wrote M. Guizot to Count Bresson, at that time French ambassador at Madrid. “Follow without hesitation this path which the Duke de Rianzares opened before us, on the 28th of last June. In itself this solution is perfectly satisfactory; in the present condition of affairs it is the easiest, the readiest and surest.”

“There is,” says M. Guizot, “in affairs of importance, an ignoble art,—though one often practised by men of intelligence,—which consists in saying and not saying, in giving instruction wrapped up in words which seem to disavow it, and in employing false shadows to veil from the common eye the effect sought to be produced, and the design that is pursued. Such was the policy and such the instructions of Lord Palmerston in the Spanish affair at the beginning of his administration. He admitted the candidature of the sons of the Infante Don Francisco de Paula, which France also accepted; but at the same time, and in the foremost rank of aspirants, he supported Prince Leopold of Coburg, who was absolutely and from the beginning of the negotiations put out of the question by the principle which the French government had laid down: ‘No matter which of the descendants of Philip V., but a descendant of Philip V.’”

In writing to M. de Jarnac, French *chargé d'affaires* at London, M. Guizot expressed himself thus: “When the king declared that he would not seek, nay more, that he should refuse positively to place one of his sons on the Spanish throne, but that, as compensation, he should insist that the throne of Spain should not go out of the House of Bourbon, and that some one of the descendants of Philip V. should be placed upon it, Lord Aberdeen, without adopting in principle all our ideas upon this subject, accepted in fact our plan of conduct. It was said and understood that the two governments would see to it that the queen’s choice should fall upon one of the descendants

of Philip V. When any other candidate — when, in particular, Prince Leopold of Coburg — was brought forward, Lord Aberdeen faithfully exerted himself in opposition to the idea. And when very lately Bulwer at Madrid gave, if not his support, at least his recognition to some advances on the part of Queen Christina towards the Duke of Coburg, Lord Aberdeen so severely blamed him for this, that Bulwer offered his resignation.

“Certainly, my dear Jarnac, after such procedures and such language, I have a right to say that the equal approbation given by Lord Palmerston to three candidates, among whom the Prince of Coburg is placed first, is a great change, is a complete abandonment of the language and attitude of his predecessor.

“Although the position of the king’s sons and of the Prince of Coburg are not absolutely identical, when the king has himself banished his sons from all pretensions to the hand of the Queen of Spain, he must have expected, he did in fact expect, and he had the right to expect, a certain measure of reciprocity; if it be not so, I do not say that the king will change his policy, but it is certain that he will recover his liberty in the affair completely. He would no longer be concerned for anything except the interests of France and the honor of his crown.  
. . . . I am deeply convinced that cordial understanding, the common action of our two governments, is more useful and desirable in Spain than anywhere else, for it is a larger field and one where the questions involved are more serious. I have not limited myself to a verbal expression of this conviction. I have proved it and acted upon it by proposing to Lord Palmerston — as I did ten days ago, before I had any knowledge of his despatch of the 19th of this month, — that we should unite in a concerted action in favor of the sons of the Infante Don Francisco de Paula. I attach the utmost importance to this agreement, this concerted action; I will do much to support it. But, in conclusion, there may be for France also an isolated policy in

Spain, and if the initiative of an isolated policy be taken at London, it will become necessary that I should follow it at Paris."

It was in fact an isolated policy that was henceforth to prevail in the great responsibility of the Spanish question. Soon isolation became antagonism. Lord Palmerston supported the Prince of Coburg; France remained faithful to the principle she had laid down in the beginning in favor of a descendant of Philip V., but from this time her choice was made: in accordance with the overtures of the queen-mother, she now supported the candidature of the Duke of Cadiz, eldest son of the Infante Don Francisco de Paula.

Queen Christina and her partisans still hesitated. "I shall always believe," says M. Guizot in his *Mémoires*, "that, amid all the uncertainties and vicissitudes of her political situation and her own disposition of mind, the serious intention of Queen Christina always had been to have one of her daughters, either the queen or the infanta, make one of the two great marriages which were offered to them, and thus to secure for Spain and for herself the support of France or of England. In her own mind, and for herself, she infinitely preferred the French alliance; perhaps even, in making overtures towards the Coburg marriage, she hoped sufficiently to alarm King Louis Philippe to obtain from him the solution she desired. 'It will be all my uncle's fault,' she often said; 'why has he not given Montpensier for the queen?' At all events, it was the attitude and the despatch of Lord Palmerston which overcame the distaste of Queen Christina for the sons of her sister Doña Carlotta, and determined her sudden and open resolution in favor of the two Bourbon marriages. Either through carelessness or through his habits of routine in the old-fashioned English policy, Lord Palmerston had judged wrongly of the state of parties in Spain. The moderate party was in possession of the government, but it



was to their enemies that he held out the hand. Queen Christina, the Cabinet, and all the moderate party saw themselves in danger of being delivered over to their inveterate and bitter foes, the revolutionary 'party of progress.' They would not support this idea, and at last declared plainly for the French alliance." The Cortes were convoked for the 4th of September; the two marriages, that of the queen and the Duke of Cadiz, and of the infanta and the Duc de Montpensier, were simultaneously announced.

Recapitulating the diverse phases of the negotiation, of the original harmony and the subsequent disagreement between France and England on the subject of Queen Isabella's marriage, M. Guizot wrote (September 10) to M. de Jarnac: "I have done what I announced to you on the 27th of February last. In presence of the candidature, sought at Madrid and accepted at London, of Prince Leopold of Coburg, for the hand of Queen Isabella, I gave orders to M. Bresson to use all his efforts to decide the queen's marriage with one of the sons of Don Francisco de Paula, preferably with the Duke of Cadiz now in Spain, and the marriage of the infanta with the Duc de Montpensier. The queen, her mother, and the Cabinet have just accepted this double union.

"These are the facts, my dear Jarnac; recall them to Lord Palmerston's mind, when you inform him of the decision which has just been made at Madrid, and of which he is perhaps already informed. As to the grounds of this decision, I have nothing to say. Of the two marriages to which it refers, one is a political question which the Queen of Spain and her government have a right to settle according to the constitution of the country; the other is a family affair which concerns only the queen-mother, her two daughters, and ourselves."

In presence of the intention thus openly proclaimed by Spain, Lord Palmerston made no further effort to prevent or even to



delay the marriage of the infanta with the Duc de Montpensier. The Spanish government gave way to no weakness in this regard. Like France, it had resumed all its liberty of action since England had refused to share in a concerted action. The mischievous agitations of the revolutionary press secretly fomented at Madrid by Sir Henry Bulwer, remained ineffectual; on the 11th of October, 1847, the two princely marriages were celebrated one after the other in the church of Our Lady of Atocha at Madrid, in presence of a curious crowd who had gathered to salute the queen as she passed. The violence of the debates in Parliament and in the French Chambers was all that testified to the discontent caused, especially in England, by the result of a negotiation long pursued harmoniously with France, but ending finally in a check for the policy of England, in consequence of Lord Palmerston's determination to abandon upon this point the cordial agreement which had existed between the two countries. Diplomatic relations were, however, not interrupted. Ill-feeling remained strong in England; it lingered in the form of a vague and general impression, contributing in the ignorance of facts to diminish the popularity of King Louis Philippe and to pervert the judgment of the English public in respect to him. It did not bring about any of those fatal consequences that a dissension less serious and less a matter of public feeling was to occasion in 1870, when two great governments and two great countries rushed into war in the name of the claims to the Spanish throne of the Prince of Hohenzollern.

"I am sad and shocked," wrote M. Guizot, July 17, 1870, "shocked at the two governments and the two nations. In 1846, England attempted in the Spanish marriage to inflict a very different check upon us from that which the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern could now be. Lord Palmerston had officially placed the Prince of Coburg at the head of the

list of candidates agreeable to England. He was defeated; the marriage, contrary to his declared wish, took place. But to make war upon us for that never occurred to England, not even to Lord Palmerston himself. They were, however, much displeased, both people, queen, and ministers, but all was limited to a long and animated discussion of the two negotiations. To-day a candidature formally made by Spain offends us; we say so to Prussia, patron of the candidate; the candidate withdraws, with his patron's permission; Spain accepts his withdrawal. We do not stop at this, but require of the patron to forbid for the future, in any case, absolutely, the withdrawn candidate from being again proposed. Upon this astonishing demand, the patron suddenly, without hearing a word, breaks off diplomatic relations and enters upon war. And in both countries, multitudes applaud. Which of the two nations is most destitute of good judgment and of moral sense? Verily I am at a loss to say. It is a case when one agrees with Chancellor Oxenstiern.\*

\* "Go, my son," said the great minister of Gustavus Adolphus, sending his son to travel in foreign countries, "go and see with what small wisdom the world is governed."

## CHAPTER VI.

## EUROPEAN DISTURBANCES. — DOMESTIC PEACE.

IT has been my wish to relate with considerable detail negotiations which at the time occupied the attention of all Europe, and very specially affected the relations of England with France and Spain. I now return to the important affairs at home which soon absorbed all thoughts and occupied all hearts. Hardly had the ministry of Sir Robert Peel fallen when famine broke out anew in Ireland with an unheard-of violence, demanding unheard-of efforts, to which England devoted herself courageously and generously. Once more the interior condition of Ireland necessitated the presentation of a law repressive of the multiplied disorders and criminal attempts which desolated the country. Upon a proposition of this nature had ensued the debate which was followed by the overthrow of the Tory ministry. Sir Robert Peel permitted himself the satisfaction of referring to this. "I should be unwilling," he said, "to let the first night of the debate on the proposal of her Majesty's government pass, without publicly declaring that it is my intention to give to that proposal a cordial support. I will quarrel with none of the details of the measure. . . . I cannot resist the force of the appeal which the right honorable gentleman has made to the House, because it is precisely the same appeal which some two years since I myself made, and made in vain." Sir Robert Peel, in fact, supported the Whig ministry against his own former friends, now eager in the attack upon the government. All the great questions with which he had

himself been obliged to deal—those that had been settled as well as those that had remained undecided—reappeared successively before the Houses: the income tax, the monetary system and the organization of the Bank of England, the state of the Colonies, the tax upon sugars, the distinction between sugars grown by free labor and those grown by slave labor, the number of hours' work in factories, etc. England was in one of those periods of transformation and of social crisis, when the old system, everywhere and necessarily antagonistic to the modern spirit, makes an obstinate, though almost hopeless defence, each day trying to ward off the morrow's peril or repair the disaster of yesterday, and keeping its intrepid but useless defenders forever in the various breaches which have been made.

The reputation and the talent of Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli increased daily in this incessant warfare, often violent and unjust, but never seriously endangering the existence of the ministry, much less the tranquillity of England, in the midst of the agitations of Europe. On the 24th of February, 1848, the monarchy of July had fallen before the impatient and inconsiderate attacks of an opposition which did not itself measure the abyss into which it was plunging the country. Following upon this fall, which was as surprising as a peal of thunder from a clear sky, all Europe saw her thrones shaken, and the revolutionary ferment reappear upon the surface of social organizations beneath which it had been secretly working. At many points, the disturbance was serious, and its effects durable. In England it was limited to a Chartist procession on Kennington Common and the presentation of a petition to the House of Commons. The parliamentary commission appointed to examine this petition discovered a multitude of false signatures, often repeated in the same handwritings, or reproduced as a foolish joke. The public mind, for the moment disquieted at the Chartist manifestation, soon turned it into ridicule, and



Chartism expired in England at the moment when revolution was shaking anew the larger number of the thrones of Europe.

The agitation could not, however, fail to gain ground in Ireland. The death of O'Connell had left "Young Ireland" mistress of the position. Standing alone at the head of the popular fermentation, the party at once became divided; Smith O'Brien and Meagher found a rival in John Mitchel, more violent than they, and more deeply involved in rebellion. The new organ of the "Young Ireland" party, the "United Irishmen," stimulated revolutionary passions. The English government resolved to put an end to so many outrages. Mitchel was arrested, tried, and condemned to banishment. Smith O'Brien and Meagher made no effort to save him; the population of Dublin remained quiet, and Mitchel in a few hours was out of the country and on his way to Bermuda. Many years later he returned to Ireland, became a candidate for an Irish county and was elected to Parliament; the election being declared void, he was again elected, but died before he could take his seat.

The depths of the Irish nation had not been moved, and the revolutionary movement was not serious, when, after Mitchel's condemnation, Smith O'Brien and Meagher sought to revive it anew. Warrants for their arrest were issued by government, and a rebellion broke out in their defence. Some collisions occurred at different points between the partisans of "Young Ireland" and the police. Smith O'Brien and Meagher were shortly captured, both were condemned to death, but the sentence was at once commuted to transportation. Meagher escaped, in company with John Mitchel; but Smith O'Brien remained faithful to his parole, and his sentence being remitted in consideration of his fidelity, he quietly returned to England, and died in Wales in 1864. Meagher, who served in the American army during the war of secession, was drowned by falling from the deck of a steamer on the river Missouri. With the

condemnation and dispersal of its principal leaders, the party of "Young Ireland" disappeared as Chartism had already done. Revolutionary attempts had failed before the peaceful strength of a free country, governed with order and liberality. The English nation was able to follow a path more and more liberal every year. It inclined constantly more and more towards democracy, but it desired to advance with even step, without undue haste or violence. With a compassion that was slightly contemptuous, England gazed upon the ruins that covered so many of the countries of Europe, forgetful sometimes of the fierce and prolonged struggles that had brought her to this height of well-ordered liberty, the supreme object to which the generous hopes of all nations aspire.

The English government had, however, the wisdom to understand that the condition of Ireland presented a constant menace to the tranquillity of England. It weighed like a nightmare upon all thoughtful minds, upon that of Sir Robert Peel in particular. Three years' continuance of the potato disease had produced a permanent famine; the Poor Law had been imposed on landed property, and landed property, crushed with debt, deprived of capital, blasted with sterility, was falling into a condition of impotence and ruin. What was to become of this people, growing daily more numerous and more wretched? What was to become of England, laden with this burden which was ever increasing and ever on the point of ending in a great danger?

"It is in vain for England," said Sir Robert Peel, on the 30th of March, 1849, "to hope that by indifference or neglect she can free herself from the burden—if there be no remedy for Irish distress and disorder—which will press upon her with intense force. At the moment at which I am speaking, you have a military force of not less than 47,000 men in Ireland; and the whole of the charge for that force is borne, not locally

by Ireland, but by the Imperial Treasury. Now with that military force, and with coercive laws, what is the social condition of Ireland? I have here an account of the last assizes at Clonmel; for one division only of the county of Tipperary, and that the most quiet one, there are no less than two hundred and seventy-nine persons for trial, and of these eighteen are charged with arson, four with attacking a police barrack in arms, three with burglary, four with conspiracy to murder, forty-two with treasonable practices, fourteen with highway robbery, twenty-one with murder, and fourteen for shooting with intent to murder. The prison, which has only two hundred and twenty-five cells, has in it no less than six hundred and sixty-eight persons, including twenty already under sentence of transportation. No wonder that Judge Jackson designated the calendar as one of the most awful he had ever known. . . . Have I not stated enough to recommend to the condition of this portion of the empire the social condition of Ireland? . . . To mitigate her sufferings, to lay the foundation for a better state of things, measures of no commonplace and ordinary character are requisite. . . . Reject my proposal if you will, but propose some other. If you can propose a better, there is no man in this House who will give it a more cordial support than I shall. I make this proposal without adventitious party aid. I know not who agrees with, or who differs from me. I make it solely under the influence of sympathy for an unfortunate country, and with the conviction that some decisive measure is necessary for the relief, not only of Ireland, but of this country also."

Sir Robert Peel's propositions concerned two points: emigration, and the condition of landed property in Ireland. He had lately, in 1847, supported a measure brought forward by Lord Lincoln, on the subject of Irish emigration; now, in 1849, returning to the subject on his own account, he brought forward



doubts as to the benefits of a system of government emigration, and recommended to the ministry to carry forward the measures they had already set on foot to encourage voluntary emigration, which was now every day increasing.

It was to the state of landed property in Ireland that Sir Robert Peel chiefly directed his efforts; after having vividly portrayed its deplorable condition, its public burdens, its private debts, the new Poor Law, the accumulation of mortgages, the apathy of landlords, the unprofitable crowding together of tenants, he went on to say: "It is not without hesitation I venture to offer any suggestion for diminishing the danger which I see in perspective; but I will communicate to the House what my impressions are. Almost the only measure from which I derive a hope of safety is the introduction of new proprietors who shall take possession of land in Ireland, freed from its present incumbrances, and enter upon its cultivation with adequate capital, with new feelings, and inspired by new hopes." He then referred to what had taken place, under James I., in Ulster, in the north of Ireland, when, after repeated revolts of the Irish chieftains, the king, put in possession by confiscations of two million acres of land, had distributed a great part of it among the English and the Protestant Scots who had settled there with their families, and by intelligent and industrious farming, laid the foundations of the prosperity of that province.

"Nothing can be easier," he continued, "than to suggest remedies, if we choose to disregard those rights of property which it is the first duty of a British legislature to uphold. But if it be possible to make any new settlement similar to that of Ulster, my earnest advice—my advice, in unison with the general feelings of the House—would be that no religious distinction should be allowed to enter into the arrangement. . . . If, without violating the rights of property, you can place the land in possession of new proprietors without distinction



of religious profession, you will lay the foundation of the future prosperity of Ireland. I much fear that if you rely merely on individual sales and purchases, you will make no great advance. Perhaps it might be prudent to appoint a commission for the purpose of considering the whole subject, and the possibility of encouraging, by their advice and intervention, that change in property which I believe to be indispensable to any great improvement of the country. Much property in Ireland is, in point of fact, of little value to the proprietors on account of the incumbrances upon it; and it may be possible for the government, with the sanction of the House, to devise means by which new capital may be introduced into the cultivation of the land in Ireland, and the existing proprietors rescued from the disappointment and despair in which they are involved."

The proposition of Sir Robert Peel raised, as indeed was inevitable, serious objections. It presented grave legal and administrative difficulties; it offended long-established prejudices and aroused ancient jealousies; it tended to the rupture of ties that had endured for centuries, and were still dear, notwithstanding the sufferings they had entailed. It succeeded, however, for it was plainly useful to Ireland as a whole, and even to those whom it seemed to offend. The results surpassed the expectations of even its most ardent promoters; its effects, however, had scarcely begun to make themselves felt when Sir Robert Peel suddenly died.

For several months all England had been ringing with the names of Don Pacifico and Mr. Finlay, the one a Jew from Gibraltar, the other a Scotsman, both English subjects, asserting themselves to have been wronged by the Greek government, and claiming large indemnities. Lord Palmerston had made himself not only their advocate but their champion; he required from the Greek government immediate payment, and on their hesitation the English fleet had appeared in the Piræus, and

seized a considerable number of Greek vessels belonging to government and to private owners. A sharp disagreement on this subject ensued between the Cabinets of London and Paris. The French commissioner at Athens, Baron Gros, and the ambassador at London, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, both quitted their posts. The House of Lords formally censured the policy of Lord Palmerston, and the minister's fall was certain, unless the House of Commons distinctly manifested confidence in him. One of the most eloquent of the Radicals, Mr. Roebuck, gave notice of a resolution affirming that the principles on which the foreign policy of the government had been regulated were "such as are calculated to maintain the honor and dignity of this country, and in times of unexampled difficulty to preserve peace between England and the various nations of the world." This was much more than was required by the Greek question. It was a general and systematic approbation of all Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, and not of acts merely, but of principles. Lord Palmerston pleaded his own cause with consummate skill, claiming, in the name of England, that effectual and powerful protection which she had always extended to her subjects. It was no longer a question of the justice of Don Pacifico's claims, nor of the reprisals made upon the Greek government. The verdict of the House would decide, Lord Palmerston said, "whether, as the Roman, in days of old, held himself free from indignity when he could say '*civis Romanus sum*,' so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong."

For four years Sir Robert Peel had habitually sustained the Whig Cabinet. He knew by his own experience the difficulties of government, and his reason, as well as his sense of justice, refused to impute all that went wrong to the mistakes or the inefficiency of the Cabinet. Mr. Roebuck's motion, however,

required too much of him, for it implied a censure of the foreign policy of his own ministry. "I am asked," he said, "to express approbation of the foreign policy of the present government as distinguished from the policy of its predecessors. The declaration of the noble lord at the head of the government [Lord John Russell], has removed all doubts from my mind on this point. He said, upon the first night of this debate, that his noble friend, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, would not be the minister of Austria, would not be the minister of Russia, would not be the minister of France, but would be the minister of England. What was the meaning of that declaration? My construction of it was that the noble lord meant to contrast the conduct of the noble lord [Lord Palmerston] with the conduct of the Earl of Aberdeen; and that what he solicited from me by my vote of this night, was a decided reflection on the policy of the Earl of Aberdeen,—upon the policy for which I myself was responsible.

"I have been connected with my noble friend the Earl of Aberdeen during the whole period for which he was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. I was connected with him at the period when we announced that we recognized the House of Orleans, and that we were determined to maintain the most friendly relations with France. I remained connected with him until July, 1846, when, on surrendering power at the feet of a majority of this House, I announced the termination of the only difficulty that remained with the United States, by the adjustment of the affair of Oregon. . . . I believe there never existed a minister less disposed to make a sacrifice either of the honor or of the interests of this country, or more sincerely disposed to maintain, not only peace, but the most friendly relations with every country with which England had intercourse. . . . In justice to ourselves, in justice to the party with whom I then acted, in justice to this House, I could



not with honor acquiesce in any covert reflection on the policy of my noble friend, the policy of peace consistently with our maintenance of the honor of the country. . . . I protest against the resolution—the carrying of which will, I believe, give a false impression with respect to the dignity and honor of this country, and will establish a principle which you cannot put into execution without imminent danger to the best interests of the country.”

Sir Robert Peel was right in his condemnation of the extremes to which an exclusively selfish national policy might lead. He, however, did not regret the success of Mr. Roebuck's measure, which maintained the Whigs in power. He had no desire to be again at the head of affairs, and his party was disorganized. There was a party without a leader, and there were leaders without a party, it was said at the time. Sir Robert's friends were gathered around him, waiting for his directions, and seconding him in his generous efforts in the service of the country. They had just congratulated him on his speech, when, on the 29th of June, 1850, the rumor was suddenly spread that he had fallen from his horse as he was riding up Constitution Hill; and almost immediately news came that he was dying.

As soon as the news of the accident became known, the most intense and universal interest manifested itself; great and small, the court and the public, Prince Albert, the Prince of Prussia, the Duke of Cambridge, all the most important personages in England, came and came again to Whitehall Gardens to inquire for Sir Robert, and found gathered around the house a multitude of persons of every condition in life, tradesmen, working-men, women with children in their arms,—poor people eager to learn what was to be hoped or feared concerning the life of him who had freed their daily bread from taxation. The crowd of carriages was so great that it became necessary to



stop them at some distance from the house, lest their noise should disturb the sufferer, already afflicted with the most extreme nervous excitement; and the number of persons on foot who were waiting for news was so considerable that copies of the physicians' bulletin from time to time were distributed to the policemen who were on duty near the house, to be read aloud by them for the satisfaction of the crowd.

Sir Robert Peel expired on the 2d of July; it had been his wish to be buried very quietly in his family tomb in the country, and he had specially objected to any public funeral, or any honorary distinction which might be conferred on his family after his death. These wishes were scrupulously observed; the ceremonious obsequies proposed by the Houses were declined, and also the peerage offered to Lady Peel.

Never certainly was the democratic principle, "to each man according to his works," manifested in a higher sphere or by a disinterestedness more severe and thorough. In no other way, perhaps, was ever the inmost heart and character of Sir Robert Peel so sincerely revealed as by these prohibitions. He was a great and honest servant of the State, proud with a kind of humility, and unwilling to shine with any splendor foreign to his natural sphere; devoted to his country without any desire of recompense, not specially mindful of established rules or long-existing political combinations, sedulous to discover day by day what the public welfare demanded, and ready to bring this about without caring for parties and party formulas. He was thus by turns conservative and reformer: Tory, Whig, and almost Radical; unpopular and popular; using his strength with the same ardor, now in a resolute resistance, now in concessions which were perhaps excessive; wise rather than prudent, courageous rather than firm, but always sincere, patriotic, and marvellously suited to an epoch of transition like our own,—to a control over modern society such as it has

become, and becomes every day more and more, in England as well as elsewhere, under the sway of those democratic principles and feelings which have been for fifteen centuries fermenting in Europe, and in our time are gaining victories concerning which no man can yet say what will be the real and final result.

At the moment when the accident occurred which resulted in Sir Robert Peel's death, he was on his way to attend the meeting of a commission which had been appointed, under the presidency of Prince Albert, to make the preliminary preparations for organizing the first Great Exhibition of Industry,—a beautiful and noble thought, destined to become fruitful in establishing among all the nations of the world an intercourse till then unknown, and relations which the progress of commerce could have brought about but slowly. Its original conception was due to Prince Albert himself, who had for more than a year devoted his efforts to the success of an enterprise which he was confident would be useful to England, and would develop the peaceful industries of all the nations of the world.

All, however, were not of this opinion, and the project of a Universal Exposition met with violent opposition in many quarters. The national and religious susceptibilities of England had just been excessively offended by a papal bull, dividing the territory of England into dioceses to which were attached ecclesiastical titles. Cardinal Wiseman, well known in England, and highly esteemed for his eminent talents, became by this act of the pope, Archbishop of Westminster and Metropolitan of Great Britain. A letter by the cardinal, destined to be read in all the Roman Catholic churches of London, solemnly announced that England had “received a place among the churches which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic communion. Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted



ROBERT PEEL.





action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigor."

This was presuming too far upon English toleration and the progress of religious liberty. Public sentiment felt itself wounded. The more moderate considered the pope's act and Cardinal Wiseman's commentary as ill-judged and futile. The more ardent Protestants, both in the church of England and among dissenters, were much excited at what was called the Papal aggression. Lord John Russell, carried away by the general excitement, wrote, in reply to the Bishop of Durham, a letter which was to give free rein to the anti-Romanist passions of the country. The prime minister condemned the recent movement as "a pretension of supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in the Roman Catholic times." He attacked at the same time those Romanizing tendencies which had been for some years manifested in the Anglican church itself, the partisans of which were grouped around the University of Oxford and Drs. Pusey and Newman. "Clergymen of our church," he said, "have been leading their flocks step by step to the verge of the precipice. . . . I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course; but I rely with confidence on the people of England, and I will not bate one jot of heart or hope, so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition and with scorn at the laborious endeavors which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul."

The war-cry seemed to have been raised from the very foot of

the throne; the cry "No Popery!" answered it back from all corners of England. The government found itself committed by the rather imprudent manifesto of its chief, as well as by the public excitement. A Bill was presented to the Houses, interdicting all ecclesiastical titles except those recognized by the English law.

The main difficulty in the case arose from the tacit recognition which had been accorded many years before in Ireland to the ecclesiastical titles of the Roman Catholic bishops. The good sense and equity of the most distinguished men in both Houses opposed all violent measures as alike contradictory to the principles of religious liberty, and unworthy of the dignity of a great country governed with liberality, and tranquilly secure in her own strength. The measure presented by the government was amended, revised, discussed with a sharpness that no religious controversy had excited for many years. Lord John Russell appeared by turns as the most zealous advocate of Protestantism and the partisan of the Roman Catholics. When at last the law passed, it remained, and could not but remain, without effect. The Catholic prelates continued to employ their ecclesiastical titles, and were not prosecuted for doing so; and in 1871, the Act was quietly repealed, its provisions never having been enforced. The toleration so slowly and painfully gained by the English people triumphed in practice over the momentary excitement of Protestant passions against an unwise attempt of the Roman court. "I would never have consented to anything which breathed a spirit of intolerance," the queen wrote to her aunt, the Duchess of Gloucester, while the public feeling was most intense. "We must hope and trust this excitement will soon cease, and that the wholesome effect of it upon our own church will be lasting."

The agitation caused by "the papal aggression," and some checks received in the House of Commons by the government

upon incidental questions had for a moment threatened to overthrow the ministry, but it was saved, as in the time of Sir Robert Peel the Whig power had been, by the inability of its opponents to form a Cabinet. The religious excitement abated; and the anxiety of those naturally disposed to uneasiness now busied itself with the subject of the approaching Exposition. "The opponents of the Exhibition," wrote Prince Albert, at this time, "work with might and main to throw all the old women here into a panic and to drive myself crazy. The strangers, they give out, are certain to commence a thorough revolution here, to murder Victoria and myself, and to proclaim the Red Republic in England; the plague is certain to ensue from the confluence of such vast multitudes, and to swallow up those whom the increased price of everything has not already swept away. For all this I am to be responsible, and against all this I have to make efficient provision." The prince, however, persevered, using his influence wisely and prudently, and gaining, one after another, the controverted points. Hyde Park had been designated from the outset as the natural site for the Exposition, but a violent outcry, to which Lord Brougham, with characteristic impetuosity, lent his voice, asserted that the Park would be forever disfigured. "An absolute prostration of the understanding takes place even in the minds of the bravest when the word 'prince' is mentioned in this country," he exclaimed, supporting a petition presented in the House of Lords against the occupation of any part of Hyde Park for this purpose.

The fortunate inspiration of Mr. Paxton, the Duke of Devonshire's head-gardener, in substituting iron and glass for brick and stone, gathered the products of the world's industry in an immense conservatory, open to all the light of day, sheltering under its roof the great trees of the Park, and charming all eyes by its bold and novel elegance. All difficulties were by



degrees surmounted, and the enthusiasm of the original partisans of the project had by degrees gained upon the whole nation. The day of the opening of the Exposition was a day of triumph which Queen Victoria has herself described with touching vivacity. "The great event," wrote the queen, "has taken place, a complete and beautiful triumph, a glorious and touching sight, one which I shall ever be proud of, for my beloved Albert and my country. . . . The park presented a wonderful spectacle, crowds streaming through it, carriages and troops passing, quite like the coronation-day, and for me the same anxiety; no, much greater anxiety, on account of my beloved Albert. The day was bright and all bustle and excitement. . . . The Green Park and Hyde Park were one densely crowded mass of human beings, in the highest good-humor, and most enthusiastic. I never saw Hyde Park look as it did, as far as the eye could reach. A little rain fell just as we started, but before we came near the Crystal Palace, the sun shone and gleamed upon the gigantic edifice, upon which the flags of all nations were floating. . . . The glimpse of the transept through the iron gates, the waving palms, the flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries and seats around, with the flourish of trumpets as we entered, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved. . . . The sight as we came to the middle was magical, so vast, so glorious, so touching, one felt, as so many did whom I have since spoken to, filled with devotion, more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains; the organ — with two hundred instruments and six hundred voices, which sounded like nothing — and my beloved husband, the author of this peace festival, which united the industry of all nations of the earth — all this was moving indeed, and it was, and is, a day to



live forever. God bless my dearest Albert! God bless my dearest country, which has shown itself so great to-day! One felt so grateful to the great God, who seemed to pervade all and to bless all!"

The apprehensions that had been aroused by the project of the Exhibition of 1851 proved vain; no danger, natural or moral, was destined to arise for England from the immense throngs that gathered in London and its environs. The hopes conceived of the salutary influence of this great pacific manifestation proved also to be exaggerated. Universal Expositions have developed and multiplied in all countries, but they have not assured the peace of the world, and the era of warlike preparations was destined to recommence for England immediately upon the closing of the Crystal Palace. The Great Exhibition of 1851 left, however, in the minds of all, an impression of novelty and of enthusiasm; its aim was generous and noble, and the material success was complete, even in respect to the financial part of the enterprise. Too much had been hoped as regards the progress of civilization, and these illusions were not slow to be dissipated. The demon of war was not yet conquered.

The remote discords which as yet had not reached England herself, were not, however, without influence upon her interior policy. The death of Sir Robert Peel had freed Lord Palmerston from a rival who was more than his equal, and from a censor whom he dreaded, even while accepting his support. Bold, even to imprudence, in his foreign policy, Lord Palmerston was opposed to all concessions to the democratic spirit at home, and his policy was in all essential points in harmony with that of the Conservatives. But it was difficult for him to resist those influences which came to him from abroad, and the consistency of his conduct suffered much therefrom. The Hungarian revolt against Austria had

just been suppressed, and Louis Kossuth, the popular hero of the insurrection, had taken refuge in England; he was still a young man, handsome, and of noble and picturesque exterior. He spoke with fluency a certain stately and literary English, acquired from the study of books. His somewhat Oriental imagination lent to his speeches a brilliancy which charmed the masses; he was received by the Liberals with an enthusiasm which soon became general. From ladies of the highest rank to the crowds gathered at the doors of public halls to hail him as he went by, all the population of London saluted Kossuth with its applause. He conceived, from this welcome, hopes for his country which were absolutely vain, and very offensive to the Austrian diplomatic service. The rumor even went abroad that Lord Palmerston was about to allow himself to be visited by Kossuth.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs was privately much amused at the alarm of Austria. "Kossuth's reception," he wrote to his brother, "must have been gall and wormwood to the Austrians and to the absolutists generally." The Cabinet feared some inconsiderate step on the part of Lord Palmerston, and he was obliged to promise that he would not receive Kossuth.

For some time the independence of Lord Palmerston's demeanor had excited a certain discontent. The queen was displeased that important dispatches had been received or sent away without her knowledge. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had been called to account by Lord John Russell, but fell into the same fault again, "not from oversight or negligence," wrote Prince Albert, "but upon principle, and with astounding pertinacity against every effort of the queen." A memorandum was therefore prepared by the royal couple, and sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The conduct required of him by the queen was distinctly and severely indicated. The queen insisted upon her consti-

tutional rights and upon the duty of her minister, a duty which Lord Palmerston had frequently failed to fulfil. Lord Palmerston did not resign, he did not defend himself; he simply excused himself for the delay that had sometimes occurred in the transmission of dispatches from the Foreign Office to the queen's Cabinet, and he added, "I have taken a copy of this memorandum of the queen, and I will not fail to attend to the directions which it contains." "If I had suddenly resigned," he explained later, "I should have been bringing for decision at the bar of public opinion a personal quarrel between myself and my sovereign—a step which no subject ought to take if he can possibly avoid it, for the result of such a course must be either fatal to him or injurious to the country. If he should prove to be in the wrong, he would be irretrievably condemned; if the sovereign should be proved to be in the wrong, the monarchy would suffer."

Notwithstanding the correct prudence of the attitude which he assumed, Lord Palmerston remained irritated and displeased. His ill-humor showed itself in a reply which he made to the deputations of sympathizers with Kossuth. The levity of tone equalled the political imprudence of his words. The public infatuation, however, was for the moment in sympathy with the declarations of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The queen, Prince Albert, and Lord John Russell were well aware that the time was not yet ripe to manifest their disapprobation. A conspicuous opportunity to break with Lord Palmerston was not long delayed.

The new experiment that France had made of a republican form of government had been of short duration. The President whom she had chosen had not been long in manifesting views more ambitious than were attributed to him by the mass of those who had aided in raising him to



power. Prince Louis Bonaparte was well known in England; it was thence that he had set out for his two attempts at Strasburg and at Boulogne; it was there that he had found refuge after his escape from the chateau of Ham. He had lived there for some time, without fortune and without influence, half-forgotten in the society, more aristocratic than respectable, in which he played an insignificant part. At the time of the great Chartist demonstration on Kennington Common, his name had figured in the list of special constables who had volunteered for the maintenance of order. The English public had regarded with surprise, but not with disfavor, his election as President of the republic. The *coup d'état* of the 2d of December caused the most extreme surprise throughout England. Its violence and illegality were revolting at once to the good sense and the moral sentiment of the country. But by degrees, the cordiality of Prince Louis Napoleon towards England, and the anxiety that had been caused by the political vacillations of the Legislative Assembly modified the first spontaneous impressions. The English nation grew more favorable towards the President of the French Republic, — soon to become the Emperor of the French. Lord Palmerston had shared from the first in these feelings of indulgence, and openly acknowledged this to Count Walewski, at that time French ambassador at London, and personally interested in the Napoleonic cause. M. Walewski hastened to make known at Paris this favorable opinion, which he attributed, as a matter of course, to the entire English Cabinet.

The attitude decided upon in council by the ministry was, however, very different. Lord Normanby, the English minister at Paris, was instructed to maintain great reserve and the most exact neutrality; and a few days later, an attitude of prudent observation, without enmity and without sym-



pathy, was indicated to him. Faithful to the letter to the policy that had been marked out, Lord Normanby soon found traces of Lord Palmerston's independent procedures; and M. de Turgot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, openly confirmed the suspicion that the English Secretary of State had acted separately and outside of the line of conduct decided upon by the Cabinet. Lord John Russell was required by the queen to ask for explanations from his colleague. The latter did not at once reply, and when he did make answer, it was to acknowledge that he had in fact approved of the course of the Prince President, that he believed it perfectly justified by the manœuvres of the Assembly against him, and that he had expressed to Count Walewski his opinion on this subject. The French minister had supposed that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of England was not speaking inconsiderately, and that his words committed his government. Hence this misunderstanding, which had embarrassed Lord Normanby, and surprised M. de Turgot. Lord Palmerston's explanations tended chiefly to the defence of the *coup d'état*, and the establishing of the grounds of his approval of it, without in any way seeking to extenuate the imprudence of his words, contradictory to the attitude decided upon by the entire Cabinet.

This was going too far, and in a matter of too serious importance. Lord John Russell wrote to Lord Palmerston to that effect. "While I concur," he said, "in the foreign policy of which you have been the adviser, and much as I admire the energy and ability with which it has been carried into effect, I cannot but observe that misunderstandings perpetually renewed, violations of prudence and decorum too frequently repeated, have marred the effects which ought to have followed from a sound policy and able administration. I am therefore most reluctantly compelled to come to the conclusion that the conduct of Foreign Affairs can no longer be left in your hands with advantage to the country."

Lord Palmerston was replaced by Lord Granville, an amiable man and popular with his colleagues, and one who would have no disposition to adopt an independent line of policy. The vexation of the fallen minister did not lead him into any unbecoming manifestations. In the discussions which followed on this subject in the House of Commons, and in spite of the somewhat rude frankness of the attacks made by Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston observed the reticence which he had hitherto imposed upon himself in respect to his personal disagreement with the queen; he was defeated, and he acknowledged it. "My turn will come with John Russell," he said; and in fact the day of revenge was not far off.

The English mind was, however, excited and apprehensive. The re-establishment of the empire, with its trivial reminiscences of the past, awakened thoughts of the long struggles and persistent enmity that had menaced England with ruin, and had imposed upon her heavy sacrifices. In vain the Emperor Napoleon III. proclaimed at Bordeaux: "*L'Empire, c'est la paix!*" The very name of Napoleon accorded ill with these peaceful declarations, the national instinct was anxious and troubled. As at divers epochs in her history, England had been seized with a panic at the idea of a possible French descent upon her coasts. New corps of volunteers formed everywhere, militia-officers drilled their men, and Lord John Russell presented a Bill for the organization of the militia; it was ill-conceived and inadequate, and Lord Palmerston attacked it vigorously. He proposed an amendment, which passed by a small majority, whereupon Lord John Russell announced that he could not retain power, since he no longer had the confidence of the House, and that he should resign. "I have had my tit-for-tat with John Russell," wrote Lord Palmerston to his brother, "and I turned him out on Friday last."

The new Cabinet, formed by Lord Derby, was destitute of

strength; the eloquence of the prime minister in the House of Lords, and that of Mr. Disraeli, as chancellor of the exchequer, in the House of Commons, could not suffice to support it with distinction. The dissolution and the new elections slightly increased its authority. Reduced to depend for support upon often irregular contingents, the ministry remained in fact in the minority, and its existence was constantly threatened. A violent conflict soon began between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, destined to continue as long as their existence, side by side, in the same legislative assembly. The budget presented by the chancellor of the exchequer was attacked by Mr. Lowe, at this time a new member of the House, as well as by Mr. Gladstone.

At the close of a protracted passage-at-arms, most bitter in reality and most brilliant in form, the ministry resigned. It was four o'clock in the morning when the House adjourned. The weather was cold and foggy. "It will be an unpleasant day for going to Osborne," Mr. Disraeli remarked to a friend as they stepped out of doors. The queen was at the moment at her favorite residence in the Isle of Wight.

The new Cabinet could only be formed by an alliance between the Whigs and those friends of Sir Robert Peel who still bore with pride the name of Peelites. Lord Aberdeen became prime minister. Lord John Russell assumed the charge of foreign affairs, and Lord Palmerston became home secretary. "I had long settled in my own mind," the latter wrote to his brother, "that I would not go back to the foreign office, and that if I ever took any office, it should be the home. It does not do for a man to pass his whole life in one department, and the home office deals with the concerns of the country internally, and brings one in contact with one's fellow-countrymen; besides which it gives one more influence in regard to the militia and the defences of the country." Mr. Gladstone com-



menced upon those duties as chancellor of the exchequer which were to contribute so greatly to his reputation and his influence. The debate which he had recently carried on with Mr. Disraeli had placed him in the ranks of the great orators of the world. He was yet young, and the hopes that were formed in respect to him were well founded. The action of his mind was henceforth to count among the powers that govern England.

A few weeks before the organization of the Coalition Cabinet, and at the very moment when the national alarm most vividly foresaw the return of the era of armed strife, England experienced the loss of one of her most illustrious and most faithful servants. On the 14th of December, 1852, the Duke of Wellington expired at Walmer Castle, "falling peacefully asleep on earth to awake in eternity." He had completed his eighty-third year, and for many months had been very feeble. In 1848, he had displayed for the last time, against the Chartists, the ardor of his indefatigable zeal in the service of his country. It was in his name and under his direction that had been organized the effort of a resistance imposing in its uselessness. Since that time he had lived very quietly, fulfilling the duties committed to him as he had always fulfilled all his duties, faithful to a single and simple idea, the greatness of England and a personal devotion to the sovereign who reigned in England. No individual feeling, no prejudice, and no preference ever interfered with the efficiency of his conduct. No self-love or self-seeking ever stood in the way of "the Duke,"—as men loved to call him in England—when it was a question of the country's good or the country's claims. No anxiety as to the success of his undertakings enfeebled the directness of his mind and of his intentions. When in November, 1834, Lord Grey's Cabinet at last gave way, King William sent for the Duke of Wellington. The duke was already an old man, illustrious by military successes and by devotion in politics to the conservative cause. He gave





WELLINGTON.



at once a grand example of modesty and of power: "It is not to me," he said to the king, "but to Sir Robert Peel that your Majesty must apply to form a Cabinet; and to him it belongs to direct it. The difficulty and the predominance are in the House of Commons; the leader of that House must be at the head of the government. I will serve under him in any post that your Majesty may please to intrust to me." The king did not object; but Peel was absent. A month before he had set out for Italy with his family. The duke agreed, until Sir Robert's return, to undertake the responsibility of the government, and in concert with Lord Lyndhurst, he did this for three weeks, conducting several departments himself, calmly bearing the attacks of the rigid constitutionalists, while the public admired his confident boldness and his indefatigable readiness to be useful to the king and country.

One of the last times when he had spoken in the House of Lords was to announce the death of Sir Robert Peel, the tears running down his cheeks as he spoke of the man with whom he had bravely shared responsibilities so heavy, and had, with singleness of purpose, accomplished so many reforms which seemed necessary to him, although often they were contrary to his own inclination.

England had never forgotten the military glory of the duke and the perils from which he had saved her. She had remained grateful to him even in the time when his political course had contradicted the popular enthusiasm. The duke gave back confidence for confidence, but he was indifferent to applause as to reproach when it was a question of serving the country. The populace of London might break one day all the windows of Apsley House; the duke replaced only those of the rooms that he occupied, and with a gesture of disdain pointed to the yawning casements when a few days later the capricious crowd saluted him with applause as he was mounting his horse at his own door.

In reality and notwithstanding the variations of public opinion, the feeling that united the old soldier to his country was a noble and touching one. It broke forth in ardent expression on the news of his death. All the honor that public respect and public regret could bring, gathered about his tomb. He was the last survivor of the grand generation who had fought in Europe against the French revolution, both in its demagogic and its absolutist phase. In war he had been its most illustrious representative, victorious, by his heroic perseverance, over even the genius of the Emperor Napoleon. In peace he had been one of the firmest champions of that rule of law in liberty which had of late lent to England the strength to sustain a desperate struggle, and was now leading her, at the head of all civilized nations, towards a progressive advance in toleration and justice, in industry and commerce.

When he died, the duke was but a name and a memory, but England felt that she had been honored by his presence, and was now impoverished by the loss of this personification of an almost sublime good sense, and an integrity proof against every trial. It is one of the glories of England that she has always known how to honor, to love, and to recompense her great servants.





VICTORIA.



## CHAPTER VII.

## THE FRUITS OF PEACE.

**A**T the very moment when the most illustrious of her old military leaders vanished from earth, England found herself upon the point of losing for a time that peace which she had now enjoyed for more than forty years, a period of tranquillity which had given scope for so much useful and brilliant progress, which had been favorable to so many useful and brilliant undertakings, and had secured to future generations so many benefits.

British arms had not remained absolutely inactive during all this time. Far-off hostilities had from time to time disturbed the repose of the mother-country. We have seen that the English had made war upon the Chinese, in order to impose upon them the opium trade, and upon the Afghans, to oblige them to accept a sovereign of English selection. Nor was this all. Following upon the disastrous campaign in Afghanistan, an attack had been made, and with better success, by Sir Charles Napier upon Scinde, a territory reported (and without doubt, truly) to be animated by hostile sentiments towards England. He had captured the fortress Emaun-Ghur, taking with him across the desert a handful of English troops mounted on camels. The treaty which he had determined to force upon the ruler of Scinde was accepted, but its conditions were severe. The Scindians sought only to evade it, and the very day after the signatures had been affixed, Major Outram, the English resident at Hyderabad, was attacked by a swarm

of Beloochees. He succeeded in making his escape by the river, but Sir Charles Napier determined to avenge the violation of the treaty and to strengthen his conquest. His forces were inconsiderable, and he had but a dozen guns. On the morning of the 17th of February he wrote in his journal: "It is my first battle as a commander; it may be my last. At sixty that makes little difference; but my feelings are, it shall be *Do or die*. To fall will be to leave many I love best, to go to many loved and my home; and that, in any case, must be soon." Success was to crown the resolve of the bold soldier who had learnt the art of war in the great struggles of the Peninsula; the battle of Meanee was fought and gained; Hyderabad surrendered. Further engagements ensured to England the possession of Scinde, and the successful general became its first governor. He knew how to develop the prosperity of the province which was entrusted to him, and to teach its warlike population to enjoy the benefits of peace. The happy results of his administration were conspicuous at the time of the revolt of nearly all India, when Scinde remained faithful to its English rulers.

Some hostilities between the governor-general of India and the Mahrattas, and a short campaign against the Kaffirs also marked the years just past, the distant echo of these sounds of war now and then reaching the ears of England, but scarcely touching her heart. The day was approaching when all the best of England's strength was to be called forth in a prolonged and cruel struggle, without danger, indeed, to her national position, but bitter to many hearts, and fatal to many lives. Before entering upon the story of the Crimean War, it will be well to glance at the fruits of this long peace, which had healed the wounds and renewed the strength of England.

We have already spoken of the marvellous progress brought about in the interior condition of England by the construction



of railways; the transformation became daily more complete as the network of new roads extended further and further, and the population became more and more habituated to their use. Postal communications had attained, almost at a single stride, the highest degree of perfection. The telegraph was gaining slowly the ground it was destined so completely to conquer. Free-trade had won its definitive victory, Lord Derby's Cabinet, nominally made up of protectionists, having been forced to abandon their ground. All English ports were now open to the merchandise of the world, with an abatement of all those duties which had not yet ceased utterly to exist.

Social progress kept pace with commerce and industry. The English government and private philanthropic enterprise were busied in securing cheap bread to the working people, and also in sanitary reforms affecting the water-supply, and the condition of their dwellings. In the latter respect, reform was imperatively required. In Liverpool and in Manchester, and in many other manufacturing cities, a tenth of the population were housed in cellars flooded in every shower of rain. Immense systems of drainage purified these pestilential quarters; associations were formed to establish public baths and wash-houses; cemeteries were by degrees removed to the outskirts of the towns; and important engineering works were undertaken for the purpose of bringing pure water into populous centres. At the same time, and from the same charitable impulse, leading the intelligent and cultivated classes to efforts for the material and moral improvement of the classes beneath them who were often blind to their own real interests, it was forbidden to employ in mines women and girls, naturally unsuited for that species of labor. They had often borne the part of beasts of burden. The labor of children in the mines was also limited and regulated, as it was shortly after to be in the factories. The eminent philanthropist, Lord Ashley, — better known as

Lord Shaftesbury — strove vainly for many years to reduce to ten hours the labor of women in factories. The day's work of children under thirteen was fixed at six hours and a half, and the care of their education was no longer abandoned to the doubtful charity of their employers. Parliament made laws upon this subject, and established penalties. From year to year the principle of the right and duty of the nation to protect the weak against the oppression of the strong, and against their own errors of judgment, gained ground in men's minds notwithstanding the opposition of the absolute principles of political economy. Nor were the sufferings of the agricultural population completely neglected in this generous crusade; the evil was acknowledged, and efforts were made, though often insufficient and incomplete, to furnish remedies for it.

Ignorance was manifestly one of the deep causes of the degradation and poverty of the working classes. Up to this time popular education had been almost entirely in the hands of the Church of England or of the dissenting sects, assisted by the efforts and sacrifices of the landed proprietors. From the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, the state entered upon a more liberal course, and important grants were voted by the Houses for purposes of popular education. In 1839, for the first time, a council of Public Instruction was formed, especially entrusted with the establishment of normal schools for teachers of both sexes.

The progress of the public interest in this matter was rapid. In 1847, an animated discussion took place on the propositions of Lord John Russell upon the subject. The government aid to schools, which in 1833 was £30,000, had now been increased to £100,000. Sir Robert Peel entered into the question warmly, like one who had long given it his serious attention, and regretted that he had done so little for so great a public interest. "If," he said, "we could know the extent of evil which has

arisen from the present ignorance of the people ; if there could be presented to us a full account of all the crime which has been generated by the want of education ; if we could obtain a statement, extending over the last fifty years, of all the vice which the evil example of parents has impressed upon the character and disposition of children, the violence and rapine which ignorance has occasioned, the offences against life and property which a neglect of education has superinduced ; if we could only enumerate how many immortal souls have been within that period sent into the presence of their Creator and their Judge, ignorant of the great truths of religion and the principles of Christianity, we should shudder at our own grievous disregard of duty, and struggle without delay to repair the evils of our past neglect."

The remedies proposed by Lord John Russell were not as yet very extensive, and his language went much further than his measures, but the principles on which they were based were sound and practical. The State was to give assistance to the efforts, whether of the Church of England, of the dissenting sects, of laic corporations, or of private individuals, and everywhere to afford to this great work its strength and its superintendence, without interfering at any point either with religious beliefs or the free action of individual zeal. Sir Robert Peel warmly supported the propositions of the Cabinet, insisting strenuously upon the necessity of religious direction, so hotly attacked in our days.

"I am," he said, "for a religious as opposed to a secular education. I do not think that a secular education alone would be acceptable to the people of this country. I believe that such an education is only half an education, but with the most important half neglected." At the same time, a spirit of justice and toleration is conspicuous in his words. "I do not deny," he says, "the Established Church is powerful ; I rejoice that it is



so. I think that the power of the church is increasing; and why is it increasing? Because of her willingness to make timely and salutary reforms, . . . because she is becoming aware of the necessity, both for temporal and spiritual objects of attending to the education of the people; it is because her conduct has been guided by that necessity that her influence has been gained. . . . But, attached as I am to the Church of England, I should be sorry to give to that Church any advantage by means of this Education vote, if I thought it unjust to the Dissenters.

. . . . On the contrary, however, . . . the principles acted upon in these minutes is one of perfect equity. . . . In the course of this discussion a question of great importance has arisen with regard to the condition of other subjects of her Majesty than either those who are members of the Established Church, or those who are usually called Dissenters. I speak of the Roman Catholic population. I am of opinion that no establishment of general education, even in England, could be deemed complete, which excluded the Roman Catholic population. . . . You are going to widen the sphere of the measure, and the more wide that sphere is, the more marked is the exclusion. Therefore, I think the time is come when justice and good policy will require from you the mature consideration of the position of the Roman Catholics. Take the case of the Roman Catholic population of Manchester, or Liverpool, or any other great town. In Manchester there is a district called the Irish town, in consequence of the great numbers of Irish resident there, amounting to from 60,000 to 70,000. Now, what class of people are these? They came over there relying on their industry, and they bargain for their labor. They have no natural protectors, . . . and there is no one probably to superintend their education. There are 60,000 or 70,000 of them, and how is their education to be attended to? I confess I cannot conceive a more urgent case, not so far, merely, as the intellec-



tual advantage of the Roman Catholics is concerned, but, if there be any virtue in our principle — if the true remedy against barbarism, and crime, and degradation of character is instruction — it is not for the advantage of the Protestant community that these Roman Catholic children should remain immersed in ignorance.”

The same progress in religious toleration and the same solicitude in respect to the needs of others gave rise to Lord John Russell's measure for the abolition of the political incapacities which forbade to the Jews the entrance into Parliament. The question was long pending, and was hotly discussed. “It is not on account of their religion that I object to admitting the Jews into Parliament,” said Lord Aberdeen, the most liberal of the conservative party, “it is on account of their nationality; they are and will remain Israelites, and will never become Englishmen.” The spirit of justice and equity finally gained the day, and the political disabilities of the Jews were removed. Baron Lionel Rothschild had been repeatedly elected by the city of London before the doors of the House of Commons were finally opened to him.

Religious questions have always held an important place in England. The breath of the eighteenth century, the disturbances created everywhere by the French Revolution, the desperate strifes which had been engendered by it, had, however, in some degree distracted the public mind from these vital and eternal interests. The religious awakening, that is to say, the increasing solicitude for the highest welfare of the soul, burst forth at nearly the same time in England and upon the continent, — a movement at many points contradictory and violent, yet everywhere efficacious and bearing precious fruit of charity, piety, and simple and practical devotion. In France, the liberal Roman Catholics gathered around Monsieur de Montalembert, Père Lacordaire, and Monsieur de Falloux, bravely

carrying on the work so often undertaken of the alliance of the Roman Catholic church with the needs of modern life; and the French Protestants, rescued from the philosophic lukewarmness which had succeeded to the long religious persecutions supported by them with so much heroism, entered upon a path of new and fervent zeal. In Germany, the pietists, as they were called, took the lead in all religious works. In England, the movement was complex and of diverse nature; in the Established Church the Evangelical party, deeply imbued with the principles of the Reformation, in recovering the religious ardor of that epoch, drew nearer to the Protestants of the continent, who were, for the most part, followers of Calvin. At the same time a contrary tendency was developing itself in the University of Oxford, and, far from leading the Established Church towards the spirit and practice which had marked its origin and had inspired the Homilies and the Prayer-Book, exhibited that disposition to draw near the Church of Rome which had actuated Archbishop Laud at the time when the Pope believed it suitable to offer to him a cardinal's hat. Two men, very distinguished by their intellect and character, put themselves at the head of the party which was destined — much against its will — to bear the name of one of them; but Dr. Pusey and Dr. Newman very soon entered upon diverging paths. Dr. Newman shortly went to seek in the Church of Rome that fixed rule and unbroken tradition which he believed logically necessary to his mind; Dr. Pusey was to remain faithful to the theory established and promulgated in those "Tracts for the Times" which they had been the first to compose and put in circulation. According to this theory, the Church of England was the true Catholic Church, forever at war with the corruptions which had invaded the Church of Rome, forever faithful to the principles of the primitive church, and preserved pure by Apostolic Succession from the earliest ages. No one had been more ardently

opposed to the Roman Church than Dr. Newman. He had long combated that which in the end he was to adore; but the tendency of his teaching was none the less effectual, and among his disciples more than one was destined to follow his example, and return, like himself, into the Roman Catholic Church. The influence exercised upon the Anglican Church by Dr. Pusey was not less powerful. He never left the University of Oxford, but his words and writings have animated the zeal of numerous ministers of the church, who did not feel attracted towards the somewhat narrow formulas and rigid practice of the Evangelical party. It is the happiness and strength of the Church of England, as it was long the happiness and strength of the Roman Catholic Church, to be able to contain in its vast embrace diverse and apparently contradictory tendencies, based, however, on the same eternal foundations of religious faith and religious consecration. In the immense field of human want and ignorance in England, partisans of High Church and of Low Church, Puseyites and Evangelicals, have been for years faithful laborers, and their rivalry has been fruitful in good works, notwithstanding the bitterness of ecclesiastical anathemas.

With the exception of certain ultra-logical minds and a few ardent and agitated spirits who have pushed their researches to the extreme, and ended by seeking refuge in the Church of Rome, the Anglican Church has guarded all her children, her enlisted soldiers in diverse camps marching always under her banner. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland, meantime, has divided upon a principle of organization, not upon a question of faith or religious practice. The lay patronage of ecclesiastical livings often resulted in the appointment of persons distasteful to the congregation they were appointed to exhort and instruct. The strife was long and bitter between the partisans of the right of lay patronage and the advocates of the religious rights of the flock. The



General Assembly of the Scottish Presbyterian Church finally declared that no minister could be installed over a parish, whatever might be the wish of the patron of the living, unless he were accepted by a majority of the congregation. Collisions soon ensued, and the questions being brought before the House of Lords they twice decided in favor of lay rights against the remonstrances of the presbytery. In vain government strove to calm the excitement of both parties. The crisis came when, on the 18th of May, 1843, in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Welsh, who had been moderator the preceding year, read a protest signed by four hundred and seventy pastors. The signers of the protest then silently arose, and forming an imposing procession, left the hall and went to take possession of a room prepared for them, where they immediately constituted themselves the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. The men who thus abandoned their livings and positions, slowly and laboriously acquired, were among the most distinguished, learned, and pious ministers of the Scottish church. At their head was Dr. Chalmers, the foremost preacher in Scotland, perhaps even the foremost in the United Kingdom, profoundly versed in the natural sciences and in political economy, a theologian of the first rank, but above all an ardent and sincere Christian, as powerful over his colleagues by the genuineness and fire of his religious convictions as by the superiority of his mind and the brilliancy of his eloquence. The Free Church of Scotland thus had the good fortune to be founded by men whose views were as broad as their religious faith was firm, and it was to the honor of the Scottish nation that they realized this, and sustained the great religious movement which was going on amongst them, without abandoning their ancient national church. The ministers of the Free Church remained for some time poor, striving against the difficulties which environed them, and enduring the



greatest privations. Slowly, however, buildings were erected for Divine worship, livings were endowed, the resources of the Free Church were multiplied, and at the same time the zeal of the National Church re-awakened, strifes were appeased, the chasm that had yawned at the moment of separation was in a great degree filled up, and the ministers of the National Church and those of the Free Church labored side by side for the salvation of souls and the practical amelioration of society. It was a rare and beautiful instance of sincerity in religious convictions leading men to extreme sacrifices, without impairing their candor and their good judgment. As has been the case in England between the partisans of High Church and Low Church, the antagonism between the National Church and the Free Church of Scotland has borne fruit more widely in good works than in the bitter results which usually follow from controversy.

This great mental and spiritual activity manifested in the church by religious controversies, broke forth elsewhere in literary, scientific, and philosophic labors. The reign of Queen Victoria forms an epoch of itself in the history of the human mind, as well as in the history of the free and peaceful development of parliamentary government. The most distinguished of the writers who had rendered illustrious the earlier part of the nineteenth century were dead before her accession to the throne. Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, Coleridge, Keats, had ceased to live. Wordsworth was destined to survive for many years yet, also Southey, Moore, and Walter Savage Landor, but the reputation of each of these authors was already made, and their most important works had been given to the public before the year 1837. The names of certain persons eminent in science were beginning to be known,—Brewster, Faraday, Sir John Herschel, Owen, Hugh Miller, Mrs. Somerville,—but their great works were yet to appear. As had been the case in France a few years earlier, historic studies were

coming into the foremost rank of science and literature. Thomas Carlyle, one of the most brilliant among the historians of his time, eloquent and sagacious, although often led into error by prejudice, was giving to England and to the world the first fruits of his vast labors. Carlyle painted with ardor the heroes who had struck his imagination. Dr. Lingard slowly and conscientiously carried forward the history of England up to the year 1688, a network of facts and dates, dryly but accurately set forth. Sir Francis Palgrave had commenced his learned researches; and Sir Henry Hallam and Lord Macaulay, the two most illustrious historians of the period we are considering, unequal in age as well as in talent and brilliancy, were throwing the light of their judicious and penetrating criticism upon the remote periods of history or upon the life of personages who had played a great part upon the world's stage.

"Since I have known Mr. Hallam," writes M. Guizot in his *Mémoires*, "and the better I have known him, the more his mind and character have alike attached me to him. Before 1830, his admirable historic works, — above all, his Constitutional History of England, — had established friendly relations between us. Since then I have met him in Paris, and we have entered into correspondence. He has often expressed to me his opinion in respect to what was going on in England; among other things, upon the Parliamentary Reform of 1831; and I have been struck with the firm independence as well as with the judicious sagacity both of his abstract ideas and his views upon contemporary events and measures. I never have known a man more thoroughly and sincerely liberal, and at the same time more exempt from all national prejudice and all party spirit, or one who occupied himself more exclusively with seeking the truth and with doing justice to all, without any desire either to please his friends or to get the better of his adversaries. The natural







rectitude of his judgment, his exact and extensive knowledge, his personal high-mindedness, and his entire impartiality, rendered him absolutely equitable, and made him not less incapable—in the cause even that he had the most at heart, that of religious and political liberty—of fanaticism than he was of indifference or lukewarmness. . . . I have heard it said that in the earlier part of his life, Mr. Hallam was somewhat severe and imperious, but he had endured great domestic afflictions. He had lost his wife and several children, among them his eldest son Arthur, a young man of rare distinction, to whose memory Tennyson, his friend, has consecrated one of the most beautiful works of moral poetry, ‘In Memoriam.’ Instead of embittering and rendering him gloomy, misfortune and advancing age had upon Mr. Hallam the effect of rendering him gentle and affable. Every trace of asperity vanished from his manner; he preserved all his alertness of mind, all his literary and social tastes, and seemed to enjoy existence as one may who finds it sweet yet, and desires to render it sweet to those who surround him, although having known acute griefs, he can never, in the depths of his soul, love it as before. . . . A rare man, and modest as he was rare, lacking only a little more brilliancy in his mental endowment, and a somewhat more ardent desire for success, to have had over the public as much power as he obtained esteem and affection from those who knew him well.

“I was not equally intimate with Lord Macaulay, and even after seeing him frequently, my acquaintance was still rather with the author than with the man. Before we met I had admired his brilliant skill in gathering facts, in grouping them, in giving life to them, and transforming the narrative into a drama, while, in the character of a spectator of this drama, he followed each actor with his observations and his criticisms; he excelled in throwing a flood of light and color over the past, and bringing it constantly face to face with the ideas and manners of the pres-

ent. When I personally knew Lord Macaulay, I enjoyed even keenly the pleasure of admiring him; the harmony was perfect between the man and the artist, the *causeur* and the writer. Lord Macaulay's conversation exactly resembled his writings; the same rich and ready memory, the same facile impetuosity of thought, the same wealth of imagination, the same cast of reflections, at once natural and piquant. It was as pleasant and almost as profitable to hear him as to read him. And when, after so many extraordinary and charming essays, he published his great work, — the "History of England from the Accession of James II." — the same merits appeared with even more abundance and brilliancy. I know no history where the past and the historian who narrates it live more intimately and familiarly together.

"Lord Macaulay paints the events and the men of the eighteenth century with as much detail, and with as brilliant colors, as if they had been his own contemporaries. It is a method full of power and charm, but leading to that peril which Lord Macaulay has not always escaped. I often feel in reading it a regret at meeting in history the party spirit of politics. I do not desire to think or to speak ill of political parties. They are the necessary elements of a free government. I have passed many years of my life in this arena, and I know how indispensable it is, in order to strive successfully, in order to govern, and, equally, in order to make a strong opposition, that one should be surrounded by a compact, disciplined, permanent party. The Whigs and Tories have made for two centuries the strength of authority and of liberty in England. But parties and party-spirit have their rightful place only in active and actual political life. When the historian goes back into the past, when he opens tombs, he owes to the dead whom he calls forth a complete and scrupulous justice; he is bound, in bringing them again upon the stage, to exhibit clearly the ideas and convictions

which actuated them in life; he must do justice to their interests and their rights, and never mingle with their ashes the hot coals of our own fires. Lord Macaulay has not obeyed this law, which concerns truth as well as historic equity. He has at times carried into his narrative, and especially into his judgments of facts and of men, the passion and prejudice with which the Whig party has fought its battles both ancient and modern. And I have reason indeed to believe that he was himself aware of this. As he went on with his great work, he disengaged himself more and more from his earlier methods. The justice of the historian got the better of the habits of political life. He was much more impartial in his history of William III. than in that of James II., and especially, than in his summary of the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. He has judged the Whigs of 1692 more severely than he did the Republicans of 1648. . . . .

“In 1840, during my residence in England as ambassador, I had a striking proof of the extent and the charm of Lord Macaulay’s historical knowledge. He offered to serve me as cicerone in a visit to Westminster Abbey, that famous church peopled with the dead, interred at random, — kings, queens, soldiers, statesmen, magistrates, orators, authors, private individuals; some, illustrious, placed there by public admiration and gratitude: others, obscure, thus honored only by domestic affection or vanity. Queen Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots, Buckingham and Monk, Lord Chatham and Lord Mansfield, Pitt and Fox, Shakespeare, Milton, Newton, Gray, Addison, Watts, — destinies and natures the most diverse placed side by side; heaven’s peace between men after the hatreds and rivalries of earth. I was not shocked, as many have seemed to be, at the great number of obscure names. What matters that to the illustrious dead? They are none the less conspicuous, none the less alone. There is no crowd there; the tombs are not in each



other's way and do not conceal one another; the visitor stops only before those which contain an immortal. . . . For three or four hours I walked with Lord Macaulay through this monumental gallery of the English nation and of English families. At every step I stopped or he stopped me, and, now replying to my questions, now anticipating them, he explained to me an allegorical monument, recalled to me a forgotten fact, related to me a scarcely-known anecdote, or recited to me some fine passage from the writers or orators whose names we met.

"We passed before the monument of Lord Chatham, who stands erect, his head thrown back, and his arm lifted as with an orator's gesture; at his feet a modest stone bears the name of his son, William Pitt, and occupies the place for the moment until the completion and erection of the monument which is to be consecrated to him. 'Would you not say,' Macaulay said to me, 'that the father is standing there, pronouncing the funeral oration of his son?' 'And, upon this, some of the finest orations of Lord Chatham and Mr. Pitt recurring to his memory, he repeated to me many extracts from them. The tombs of the great authors, prose-writers, and poets, awakened in him the same abundance and raciness of recollection. Milton and Addison were his favorites, and he detained me several minutes before their names, recalling to me facts of their history or quoting passages from their works, with an evident pleasure in reciting almost as great as my own in listening to him. We passed near a bas-relief, which represented an incident in the war between England and the American colonies struggling for their independence. 'Notice that figure which has lost its head,' said Macaulay; 'that is Washington's. Some ardent English patriot, still exasperated against this rebel chief, revenged himself upon him by secretly breaking his head. The figure was repaired; it was found again broken, and the attempt to restore it was abandoned. Observe how patriots of one



country understand and treat those of a rival country.' The visit to the Abbey was full of interest and delight; like the great dead of Italy when Dante passed, the most illustrious personages in English history and literature came forth from their tombs, at the voice of one who so worthily represented them."

Lord Macaulay, while yet young, went to join the illustrious crowd, among whom he had led M. Guizot, and many of those who, like himself, were students of history at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign are, like himself, dead. Tytler brought down his *History of Scotland* to the period when the two crowns were united, in 1603; Lord Mahon's *History of England* fills an important interval in historic narrations, the author's conscientiousness and impartiality of research doubling its value. Before, in his turn, quitting the scene, he was also to raise to his illustrious kinsman, William Pitt, a monument worthy of him, by its sagacity and patriotic fairness. Mr. Grote and Bishop Thirlwall were at this time occupied with their great *Histories of Greece*, works which reached completion before the death of their eminent authors. Dr. Arnold had scarcely more than commenced his *History of Rome* when he died, in 1842, leaving, however, in the great school at Rugby, a monument, perhaps more noble and durable, of his strong and salutary influence over the minds and hearts of the young. The history of modern times has been drawn by Lord Brougham with that fire and energy which distinguished his sketches of the statesmen of George III.'s reign; and Sir William Napier has told the great story of the Peninsular War, in which himself and his family bore so conspicuous a part.

The ever-rising wave of historic labors has not fallen back in the second part of Queen Victoria's reign; but with a few exceptions, it has been less brilliant. The most eminent historic writers had finished their work before the Crimean War, or

were hastening to complete it before it should escape from their hands.

The crowd of novels, at once distinguished in their literary merit and unexceptionable in their morals, which have signalized the reign of Queen Victoria, are a great and rare good fortune to England. Sir Walter Scott may be said to have opened this path of moral and intellectual relaxation. He pursued it in the historic romance; and others have followed him afar off. Ainsworth and G. P. R. James have multiplied their pictures of past days in works extremely unequal in literary value and in historic exactitude. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton has made bold and brilliant excursions into this domain, as into all the other territories of romantic art; while among the most illustrious of its modern representatives, Thackeray has retraced two important epochs of the history of England, with a knowledge and skill as admirable as his talent.

But it is to another end that the romantic literature of our time seems especially to have devoted itself in England. In painting manners and the social condition, the novelist has almost constantly pursued an aim, at one time economic, like Miss Martineau in her tales of political economy; at another, moral and philanthropic, like Dickens, Thackeray, Kingsley, Mrs. Gaskell, and others.

Not only has the novelist's art in England, at our epoch, had the honor to fall into honorable hands, habitually depicting pure manners, or touching upon corruption with a high-mindedness and a delicacy of pencil, which the most distinguished of our French novelists have so lacked that the judgment of the whole world has been thereby deceived in respect to the moral and social state of France, but a great number among the authors of modern English romances have regarded, and do regard, their art as a talent for which they must give account, as a weapon put into their hands to defend the cause of justice, charity, and eter-

nal truth. We are bound to say, to the honor of the women who, in our time, stand in the first rank of English novelists, — some already gone from earth, as Mrs. Gaskell and Charlotte Bronte; others still at work with an incomparable strength of study and talent, as the author of *Adam Bede* and *Romola*,\* or devoted to the moral improvement of those whom they instruct while they amuse them, as Mrs. Dinah Muloch Craik, and Miss Yonge, — all have exercised over their age a deep and salutary influence. They have led their readers into a region whose air is not merely pure, but also healthful and strength-giving; they have put at the service of their country and their generation a talent of observation, the rectitude of a moralist, an elevation of thought and sentiment, often served by the finest intelligence and the acutest talent, thus contributing to the moral reputation of England throughout the world. Painfully in contrast with this are the pictures heaped up in France by men pretending to depict the manners of a social life to which they are and must be strangers, or to paint the domestic life of honest homes into which their works never penetrate.

Neither novelists nor poets have been lacking to modern England, and, like the novelists, the poets have led the English public into a pure and elevated region. No one has more perfectly merited this praise than Mr. Tennyson, and his influence over the mind and the imagination of his time is to the honor both of the public and of the poet. At times obscure and eccentric in his genius, Browning has had aims no less high, and his wife has walked before him in those lofty paths. Names crowd beneath the pen, of poets of the second rank, among whom it would have been unjust to place Mr. Matthew Arnold, had he not divided his mental work into such diverse fields that his

\*Marian Evans Cross (George Eliot), author of *Scenes of Clerical Life*, *Adam Bede*, *The Mill on the Floss*, *Silas Marner*, *Romola*, *Middlemarch*, *Daniel Deronda*, and other works, died Dec. 22, 1880. — *Tr.*

poetic compositions lack the abundance necessary to place him in the highest rank.

The slightly naturalistic tendency of the poems of Mr. William Morris belongs to a more recent epoch in the reign of Queen Victoria. The same falling off in the moral element can be detected among the novelists of the later period. Here lies a danger, and the ranks of the defence are becoming aware of this. England has need to put herself on guard, and to protect the imaginations and hearts of her children, the very ramparts of a social state unique in the world's history, and threatened at the present day with the invasion of a destructive democracy.



## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE CRIMEAN WAR.

THE Duke of Wellington, the most illustrious representative of the great European wars, was dead ; at the head of affairs in England was Lord Aberdeen, a man ardently attached to a peace policy, both by natural disposition and by the ever-present memory of those evils of war which he had labored to assuage in 1814, at the opening of his career ; and yet, a certain anxiety pervaded the minds of all. A breath of war seemed beginning to blow over Europe once more. The increasing power of the Emperor Nicholas, and his views upon the Eastern question, gave offence to England ; he was unfriendly to French influence at other points. Diplomatic foresight took the alarm, and the public mind at once shared in the anxiety

Russia was at this time involved in a dispute with France on the question of the rights of the Greek clergy, or of the Latin monks, to the custody of the sanctuaries at Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem. The possession of these holy places was regarded by each Power as a proof of supremacy in the East, as a symbol of the all-powerful protection extended by the one, over all Roman Catholics in the East ; by the other, over the children of the Greek Church, to whatever nationality they might belong. Already the emperor was beginning to exercise his right and fulfil his duty of defending the numerous subjects of the Porte who professed the Orthodox faith. In the czar's mind, as well as in that of his predecessors, this efficient and decisive protection was inti-

mately connected with the possession of Constantinople, that promised city, which the old Russian language called Tzar-grad, — the city of the czars. Crowded hard by Russia and by France, obliged to yield to the one, and fearing to offend the other, the Turkish government had placed itself in the wrong towards Russia, by failing to perform all that it had promised. The Greek clergy at Jerusalem complained that they had not been allowed all the concessions which had been promised at Constantinople. The Emperor Nicholas was both angry and anxious on this subject. He knew the English ministry to be less favorable to the policy of the Emperor Napoleon than its predecessors had been. Lord Palmerston was Home Secretary, and Lord John Russell had the charge of foreign affairs; an intimate alliance with England seemed possible, and, with her, the czar could dictate his own terms to Turkey and to the rest of Europe. He opened the subject to Sir G. Hamilton Seymour, English ambassador at St. Petersburg, at a ball given by the Grand Duchess Helena, on the 9th of January, 1853. After protesting his friendship towards the new ministry, and particularly Lord Aberdeen: "You know my feelings toward England," said the czar; "it is essential that the two governments, that is to say, — the English government and I, I and the English government, — should be on the best terms; and the necessity was never greater than at present. I beg you to convey these words to Lord John Russell. When we are agreed, I am quite without anxiety as to the rest of Europe; it is immaterial what the others may think or do. As to Turkey, that is another question; that country is in a critical state, and may give us all a great deal of trouble."

The czar was about to turn away, after these vague but significant words, but the English ambassador was very anxious to hear more. He ventured to question the emperor,





A MOHAMMEDAN AT PRAYER.





who, after a little hesitation, continued: "The affairs of Turkey are in a very disorganized condition; the country itself seems to be falling to pieces. . . . Stay: we have on our hands a sick man, a very sick man; it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements were made. But, however, this is not the time to speak to you on that matter."

And, in fact, a fortnight later, Sir Hamilton Seymour was summoned to the palace, and there, in a confidential interview with the czar, was enlightened as to the designs which were fermenting in the brain of the autocratic master of the Russian empire. He referred to the Empress Catherine the origin of those dreams of Oriental dominion, which he had not however inherited, he said. But, while desiring no increase of territory for himself, he was bound to watch over the interests of the Greek Christians, subjects of Turkey. "The right of doing so is secured to me by treaty," said the emperor. "I may truly say that I make a moderate and sparing use of my right, and I will freely confess that it is one which is attended with obligations occasionally very inconvenient; but I cannot recede from the discharge of a distinct duty. Our religion came to us from the East, and there are feelings, as well as obligations, which must never be lost sight of. Now Turkey, in the condition which I have described, has, by degrees, fallen into such a state of decrepitude that, as I told you the other night, eager as we all are for the prolonged existence of the man,—and that I am as desirous as you can be for the continuance of his life,—I beg you to believe he may suddenly die upon our hands; we cannot recuscitate what is dead; if the Turkish Empire falls, it falls to rise no more; and I put it to you, therefore, whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency, than to incur the chaos, confu-

sion, and the certainty of a European war,—all of which must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly, and before some ulterior system has been sketched. This is the point to which I am desirous that you should call the attention of your government. . . . I tell you plainly that if England thinks of establishing herself one of these days at Constantinople, I will not allow it. . . . For my part, I am equally disposed to take the engagement not to establish myself there, as proprietor, that is to say; for, as occupier, I do not say. It might happen that circumstances, if no provision were made,—if everything should be left to chance,—might place me in the position of occupying Constantinople.”

To these overtures of the czar, as communicated by the English ambassador, the English government replied, complimenting the Emperor Nicholas upon the wise policy he had so long pursued, and admitting the utility of an agreement among the great Powers on the subject of Turkish affairs, upon condition that Austria and France should also take part in the transactions which England would not decline, acting in the interest of the Ottoman Empire. The English government thus placed itself in the attitude of expecting the prolonged existence of this “sick man,” whose estates the czar was already scheming to divide.

The Emperor Nicholas did not regard himself as defeated. “If your government,” he said, a month later to Sir Hamilton Seymour, “has been led to believe that Turkey retains any elements of resistance, your government must have received incorrect information. I repeat to you that the sick man is dying, and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise. We must come to some understanding. . . . I have confidence in the English government. It is not an engagement, a convention which I ask of them; it is a free interchange of ideas, and in case of need, the word of a gen-

tleman; that is enough between us. . . . You observe there are certain things that I will never allow: as regards ourselves first, I do not desire the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians, as I have already told you; but I am not willing on the other hand that Constantinople should ever be occupied by the English or by the French, or by any of the great Powers. Neither will I permit a reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire, nor that Greece should receive such an accession of territory as would make her a state of any importance. Still less could I allow the empire of Turkey to be broken up into little republics, to afford shelter to the Kossuths, the Mazzinis, and the other revolutionary leaders of Europe. Rather than endure any such arrangements, I would make war, and carry it on as long as a man and a gun were left in my Empire. . . . Oh! I see clearly, you think in England that it is better to put off the crisis as long as possible, and keep the Ottoman Empire alive. This is what my chancellor tells me every day. But the crisis will come; it is inevitable, and we shall not be ready for it. In regard to Egypt, I understand perfectly the importance of that territory for England. In case of a division after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, if you were to take possession of Egypt, I should offer no objection. I say the same in regard to Candia; that island may be useful to you; and I see no reason why it should not belong to England."

This was making proposals and offering temptations in too distinct a form. The necessity of reserve had been felt by the czar himself, in 1844, when, in communicating to England his views on the Eastern question in a memorandum drawn up by Count Nesselrode, he had expressed the conviction that it was for the common interest of both England and Russia that the Ottoman Empire should be maintained. The czar also declared at that time that in the event of the destruction of the Turkish Empire he should not be willing to have England take posses-



sion of Constantinople, and for himself disclaimed any intention so to do. "In the uncertainty which hovers over the future," continues the memorandum, "a single fundamental idea seems to admit of a really practical application, that is, that the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished if, in the event of its occurrence, Russia and England have come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common. That understanding will be the more beneficial inasmuch as it will have the full assent of Austria, between whom and Russia there already exists an entire accord."

The appeal and the temptation were both replied to by Lord Clarendon, who succeeded Lord John Russell in the Foreign Office. England, he said, desired no territorial aggrandizement, and could not participate in any arrangement by which she was to receive an advantage of that sort. Nor could she enter into any combination which must be secret from the rest of Europe. Lord Clarendon declared that it was the conviction of the queen's government that Turkey only needed indulgence on the part of her allies, their avoidance of any measures humiliating to the sultan's dignity and independence, and lastly, to receive from them that friendly support, which, among states as well as among individuals, the weak have always a right to expect from the strong.

This indulgence and consideration was precisely what the czar had resolved not to manifest towards Turkey. Already (February 28th) Prince Mentschikoff, one of the principal dignitaries of the Russian empire, had arrived at Constantinople, accompanied by a numerous and important staff. Relying upon former treaties, the prince demanded, in the name of the Emperor Nicholas, an express engagement on the part of the sultan, securing to the czar the exclusive protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte. On the 5th of May, a formal ultimatum was addressed on this subject to the ministers of





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the sultan, Prince Mentschikoff, meanwhile, attempting to obtain from the sultan personally the concessions which he had hitherto failed to wring from the vizier.

The alarm in Constantinople was extreme at first, but was soon in some degree abated by the support of the English ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and by the even more significant attitude of France. On the 10th, a reply was made by the Turkish minister, in which it was declared to be the intention of the Porte to maintain unimpaired the rights of all the tributary subjects of the empire, and a willingness was expressed to negotiate with Russia concerning the Holy Places at Jerusalem; but the reply objected to that portion of the demands of Russia which concerned a protectorate of the Greek church in Turkey. Prince Mentschikoff was extremely offended. He did not, however, at once leave Constantinople, but a further interchange of notes ended finally by the departure of the Russian envoy on the 22d of May.

The czar had already taken his precautions in prospect of this negative response from Turkey. As early as the 6th of March, Colonel Rose, English *chargé d'affaires*, wrote to his government that Russia was advancing her forces into Turkish territory, and provisioning her army in Moldavia and Wallachia, without having indicated to the Porte her causes of complaint; "a thing unheard-of," wrote the *chargé*, "and contrary to the rights of civilized nations." The intention of Russia was manifestly, in Colonel Rose's judgment, either to destroy the independence of Turkey or to make war upon her. On the 2d of July, the Russian columns crossed the Pruth, and three days later Prince Gortschakoff entered Bucharest. Meanwhile, on the 2d of June, the British fleet under Admiral Dundas was ordered to the neighborhood of the Dardanelles; and three days later, the French squadron received instructions to proceed to Besika Bay.

The English government had for a long time persisted in a benevolent incredulity with respect to the ambitious designs of the Emperor Nicholas upon Turkey. She was at last obliged to recognize them ; but the first steps in opposition to that aggressive policy were to be made by France. The latter country had no direct and personal interest in the question. France had not to guard, as had England, the road toward Oriental supremacy, but the balance of power in Europe was endangered, and also an occasion was offered for an English alliance, and the Emperor Napoleon was impelled towards it by that blending of personal obstinacy and vague hopes which so often characterized his policy. The combined action of France and England was sustained by Austria and Prussia in so far as it remained a question of diplomacy, the German Powers being disinclined to actual war.

For some time a conference was in session at Vienna, proposing expedients, preparing notes, lured by the apparent concessions of the czar, irritated by the obstinate resistance of the Turks. A note was finally submitted to Turkey, backed by the recommendations of the four Powers ; but the Turkish government refused to accept the terms, which virtually were the same as those proposed by Prince Mentschikoff, in May. The Vienna note, although recommended by the four Powers, was really the work of the Austrian representative, Count Buol, and has long since come to be regarded as a trap laid by Russia through Austria. That the sultan ventured to refuse it is now well understood to have been in great measure due to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the English ambassador in Turkey, who, while laboring assiduously to secure peace, had too wise a judgment and sincere regard for the right to allow Turkey to be sacrificed.

The sultan summoned his grand council, composed of nearly two hundred of the most distinguished men in the Turkish





A BULGARIAN SOLDIER



Empire ; and this council at once recommended that Prince Gortschakoff be summoned to quit the Principalities within fifteen days, his refusal to be regarded as a commencement of hostilities.

For Turkey, the war had commenced. For France and England, it was soon to begin ; but even before that moment, the French and English fleets were ordered to enter the Dardanelles.

The first efforts of the Turks were crowned with success. Omar Pasha coolly and skilfully resisted Prince Gortschakoff ; at certain points even, he took the offensive. Europe was yet depending upon the promised moderation of Russia, who designed merely, she said, to occupy the Principalities for the purpose of compelling Turkey to treat with her, when, on the 30th of November, the Russian Black Sea fleet, which had been for some days hovering in the neighborhood, attacked a Turkish squadron lying in the harbor of Sinope ; the action was short and sharp, the Turkish fleet was entirely destroyed, and the town of Sinope suffered severely from the bombardment. One steam-vessel alone escaped, and carried news of the disaster to Constantinople.

German diplomacy essayed to extenuate the character of the blow struck at Sinope, but England and France at once recognized it as a *casus belli*. Lord Clarendon at once directed Sir Hamilton Seymour to give notice to Russia that a repetition of the affair at Sinope must be prevented, and that every Russian ship thenceforward met in the Black Sea would be requested, and if necessary, constrained, to return to Sevastopol, or to the nearest Russian port. " We shall hold the Black Sea as a pledge until the evacuation of the Principalities and the restoration of peace," were the words of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. On the 4th of January, 1854, the fleets of England and France moved up, and entered the



Black Sea. Diplomatic relations were broken off between France and England on the one side, and Russia on the other, and the ambassadors of the respective countries received orders to quit their posts.

“There remains to us the shadow of a shadow of hope,” said Lord Fitzwilliam in the House of Lords, at this critical moment. The Emperor Napoleon wrote personally to the czar. “If your Majesty,” he said, “desires as much as I do a peaceful conclusion, what more simple than to declare that an armistice shall be signed to-day, that affairs shall resume their diplomatic course, that all hostilities shall cease, and all belligerent forces be withdrawn from the places to which reasons of war have called them. Thus the Russian troops will abandon the Principalities, and our squadrons the Black Sea. Your Majesty, preferring to negotiate directly with Turkey, might appoint a plenipotentiary to deal with a Turkish plenipotentiary, their agreement to be submitted for confirmation to the four great Powers. If your Majesty will accept this plan, upon which the Queen of England and myself are perfectly agreed, peace is restored, and all the world is content. But if, through motives difficult to comprehend, your Majesty refuses it, then France as well as England will be obliged to leave to the decision of arms and the hazards of war that which to-day might be decided by reason and justice.”

The national pride of Russia and the personal will of the czar were equally opposed to this proposal of an arrangement at the last moment. “I learn,” replied the Emperor of Russia on the 8th of February, “that, while protecting the re-victualling of Turkish garrisons upon their own territory, the two Powers have resolved to forbid to us the navigation of the Black Sea, that is to say, apparently the right to bring supplies to our own coasts. I leave your Majesty to judge if this will facilitate the conclusion of peace, and if in the alternative proposed to



me, I can discuss, examine even for a moment, its propositions of an armistice, of the immediate evacuation of the Principalities, and of negotiation with the Porte of an agreement to be finally submitted to a conference of the four Powers? If you were yourself, sire, in my place, would you accept a similar proposition? Would your national feeling permit it to you? I boldly answer, no. Whatever may be your Majesty's decision, I shall not draw back before threats. My confidence is in God and in my right; and Russia, I can answer for it, will know how to show herself the same in 1854 that she was in 1812." The remembrance of the disasters which had overwhelmed the Emperor Napoleon I. and the Grand Army during the terrible campaign in Russia, added strength to Russian hopes and Russian obstinacy. "Are we not now the same Russian nation of whose deeds of valor the memorable events of 1812 bear witness?" said the imperial manifesto of the 11th of April, 1854. "May the Almighty assist us to prove this by deeds!" On the day following the battle of the Alma, the Emperor Nicholas still held the same language: "Sevastopol may be taken, our fleet may be destroyed, the Crimea may be lost by us for a time. Great sacrifices may become necessary in order to dislodge the enemy. All these events shall not make me forget what I owe to the honor of Russia, and what Russia has the right to expect of me. Though any or all of them should occur, my language and my determination will remain the same."

It was in this spirit of haughty and indomitable resolution that the czar received, on the 17th of March, the joint summons of France and England to withdraw his troops from the Principalities. A refusal, even though tacit, would be regarded as a declaration of war. "The emperor does not think it becoming to make any reply," Count Nesselrode said to the consuls of France and England, who had waited upon him to receive the answer of the czar. On the 27th of March, a message from the

queen and a message from the Emperor Napoleon to the Houses of the two nations respectively, announced to all the world that war was declared between France and England, coming to the assistance of Turkey, on the one side, and Russia on the other, Austria and Prussia limited themselves to a proclamation of the necessity of maintaining the Ottoman Empire, and an agreement to enter into negotiation with no Power which should not from the beginning recognize the fundamental principle of the integrity of the Turkish territory.

Peace had now reigned in Europe for forty years; the nations had unlearned the terrible art of war. Among the French, a series of campaigns in Algeria had kept up the military spirit natural to the nation, but the ability to organize great armies, the skilful and prudent administration which had once distinguished the French generals, had disappeared, and a presumptuous levity had often taken the place of experience. Diplomatic hesitations had been so prolonged, attempts at reconciliation had been so persistent, that it would seem as if military preparations might have been completed on both sides of the channel. This, however, was not the case. When war movements were first decided upon, their magnitude was not determined, and more and more troops were collected every day; while the transportation, the commissariat, and even the command of the forces, remained as yet unprovided for. The haste with which preparations were carried forward was prejudicial to their efficiency. Marshal St. Arnaud, a brilliant soldier of fortune, whose life had been flung from one adventure to another up to the time when he had assisted in the *coup d'état* of the 2d of December, had been placed by the Emperor Napoleon at the head of the French army. Upon his arrival at Gallipoli, where the troops were gathered, he wrote to his sovereign: "I say with regret to your Majesty that we are not organized nor in a condition to carry on war, as we are now; we have here but twenty-four pieces of field

artillery, and five hundred horse, including *chasseurs* and *dragons*. The rest, *personnel* and *matériel*, is detained at sea by northerly winds, and will arrive God knows when. Our situation is yet more unfortunate in the matter of provisions. I have biscuit for ten days, and I ought to have enough for three months at the least. It has been thought that I was jesting when I asked for three million rations, which would be only enough to last fifty thousand men twenty days, and it was proposed to give me one million; no calculation could be more incorrect. It is impossible to make war without bread, without shoes, canteens, and camp-kettles. I am left with two hundred and fifty pair of shoes, forty camp-kettles, and about two hundred and fifty canteens. I beg pardon of your Majesty for these details, but they will prove to the emperor the difficulties which surround an army six hundred leagues distant from its supplies. It is no one's fault, it is the result of the haste with which every thing necessarily has been done. The troops were sent out in steam-vessels, and supplies, munitions, and horses in sailing-vessels; the men arrive and there is nothing here for them. We must allow forty days at least for sailing-vessels to come from France or Spain to Gallipoli."

The commander-in-chief of the English forces, Lord Raglan, formerly aide-de-camp, under the name of Lord Fitzroy Somerset, to the Duke of Wellington, had learned the art of war on a grand scale, under the auspices of his illustrious chief; he was reasonable, moderate, and of brilliant personal bravery. Lord Raglan found himself often embarrassed by the rapid evolutions and the changes of plan of his French colleagues. Marshal St. Arnaud formed designs; he prevailed on Lord Raglan to agree in them, sometimes against the latter's will; then he himself became aware of the disadvantages of his own plans, and the English commander-in-chief was compelled to announce to the English government the relinquishment of the designs he had



but just now explained to them. When the allied armies, thirty thousand French, and twenty thousand English, finally selected Varna for the base of their operations, the plans of the commanders had been repeatedly changed and modified, and the decisive advance was not yet determined upon.

The resistance offered to the Russian forces by a small Turkish town had given the allies time to complete their movements, and at last collect their resources. The 19th of May Silistria had been besieged by the Russians, and Omar Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief, already regarded the place as lost. "Silistria will infallibly be taken," he said to Marshal St. Arnaud and Lord Raglan, when the two generals visited him in his camp at Schouvala. "I hope the place may hold out six weeks, but it may be taken in a fortnight. I am not strong enough to go to its help. I should be destroyed without having done any good." On the 20th of June Silistria was yet holding out, its Turkish garrison having been cheered and directed by two young English officers, and afterwards by a third, who had come thither of their own free will. On the 23d of June the Russians raised the siege, and retreated across the Danube.

Meanwhile the allied forces had gradually arrived at Varna, and were now encamped in the neighborhood of the town, at the foot of a spur of the Balkan range. The country was rich and picturesque; everywhere were gardens and cultivated fields. By degrees the material, so painfully lacking at the outset, had been accumulated, and was at the generals' orders; and now only the great question remained to be decided: upon what point should the blows of the allies be directed, upon what side should they make their attack?

The Emperor Napoleon assumed to direct, from afar, the operations of his army; and his orders succeeded one another by telegraph, contradictory at times, and difficult to understand, varying from day to day, as the somewhat vague will





## MAP OF THE



## SEAT OF WAR.



LITH. KIMMEL & VOIGT N.Y.

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of the master was modified by events or negotiations. The Duke of Newcastle, the English war minister, was ardent and resolute, and he also took his share in the councils of the distant army. It was in London that the final plan was determined, and it was accepted, not without hesitation, by the French Emperor. When Lord Raglan received orders from home to direct his operations against the Crimea, the two generals had scarcely thought such a resolution possible. "The Crimea has been my favorite idea," wrote the French marshal to his brother. "I have studied its plans assiduously. At first I regarded the conquest as a fine and important stroke; but I have seen the embarking and disembarking of troops, and am of opinion that to make a descent upon the Crimea immense preparations are needful,—an entire campaign, a hundred thousand men, perhaps, and all the resources of the French and English fleets united, with a thousand transport ships besides."

On the 9th of July, Marshal St. Arnaud wrote to the emperor: "I have expressed to your Majesty all my own views, those of Lord Raglan and of the two admirals, on the subject of the Crimea. To undertake a great thing, great appliances are necessary; we have absolutely none. For six months the Minister of the Marine has been plied with appeals from all quarters for lighters, launches, flat-boats, and all the means for debarkation, which will be needed by an army operating in the presence of a strong and watchful enemy. A week ago the minister replied, in a letter which has been shown me by Admiral Hamelin, that the subject was under consideration. Sire, a year of preparation is necessary to make a descent upon the Crimea with any chance of success."

Lord Raglan's opinion coincided with that of his French colleague. Admiral Dundas said frankly, that he could undertake to land the army on the coast of the Crimea, but not to supply it, nor to bring it back.

Marshal Bugeaud used to say, "What I require is a government." In their secret souls, notwithstanding the independence of their language, and even of their thoughts, most generals feel as he did, that they have need of the organized strength of the government of their country. Lord Raglan had no lack of orders from home. Upon the minds of the English ministers was deeply impressed the same conviction which had led Count Pozzo di Borgo to say, in 1838: "Although it is scarcely probable that we shall ever see an English fleet in the Black Sea, it will be prudent to fortify Sevastopol against an attack from the sea. If the English ever are at war with us, they will direct their attacks against this point, if they think success possible."

The English fleet was now in the Black Sea, and the Russian fleet was collected at Sevastopol. An attack upon Sevastopol was evidently the most useful thing for English interests. "The heaviest blow which could be struck at the southern extremity of the Russian empire," wrote the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Raglan, June 29th, 1854, "would be the taking or destruction of Sevastopol. . . . The difficulties of the siege . . . appear to be more likely to increase than diminish by delay, and as there is no prospect of a safe and honorable peace until the fortress is reduced and the fleet taken or destroyed, it is on all accounts most important that nothing but insuperable impediments — such as the want of ample preparations by either army, or the possession by Russia of a force in the Crimea greatly outnumbering that which can be brought against it — should be allowed to prevent the early decision to undertake these operations."

Lord Raglan accepted the orders of government with that calm, though somewhat sad resolution which was constantly manifested in his conduct. Marshal St. Arnaud at once entered into the plan with an ardor which swept away from before his eyes all those difficulties which he had lately himself pointed

out; a reconnoissance of the coast near Sevastopol was projected under the orders of General Canrobert and Sir George Brown, accompanied by several French and English officers of experience.

Meantime the cholera had broken out among the allied troops. From the time of their arrival in the neighborhood of Constantinople the French army had suffered constantly and severely; the English had been more exempt from disease, and their hospital arrangements were less complete. But during the month of August the cholera became a virulent epidemic, ravaging not only the camps, but also raging on shipboard with such severity that on board a single ship a hundred and five men died in a few days. It was natural, therefore, that all awaited with the greatest impatience the results of the reconnoissance which would give, it was hoped, the signal for departure from a sea-coast which had proved so pestilential.

On the 28th of July, the brave and experienced men who had visited the Crimean coast returned to Varna. They reported favorably in respect to an invasion, and from this moment preparations were pushed forward with the greatest ardor. In vain did Omar Pasha from the Danube appeal for aid from the allies in driving the Russians out of the Principalities; in vain did the Austrian generals, keeping watch on the endangered frontier of their own country, urge, like Omar Pasha, the opportuneness of a joint attack. All the strength of the French and English armies scarcely sufficed for the expedition against Sevastopol. On the 7th of September, the English and French transports, guarded by the fleets of the two countries, set forth from Varna, and directed their course towards the southwest coast of the Crimea. The weather was favorable for the voyage, and on the 14th the landing on the Crimean coast commenced. Before leaving Varna the military ardor of the troops had been fired by the news of the bombardment and capture of



Bomarsund, at the entrance of the Gulf of Bothnia. Upon the north and south the attack was simultaneous, and the soldiers of the Crimean armies confidently expected to carry Sevastopol as easily as the Baltic fleet had taken Bomarsund.

The point of debarkation selected by the allied forces was not far from the mouth of the river Alma, and about thirty-five miles from Sevastopol. Beyond this great military stronghold, now the object of all hopes and efforts, lay the port of Balaklava, separated from Sevastopol by a promontory.

The debarkation continued during five days, and on the evening of the 18th there had been landed on the coast of the Crimea thirty-seven thousand French and Turks, with sixty-eight pieces of artillery, all under the command of Marshal St. Arnaud; and twenty-seven thousand English, with sixty guns, under the orders of Lord Raglan. The landing had been effected in perfect order and without disturbance: not an enemy had appeared. The weather was beautiful. "The sun, declining to the horizon," writes a French historian of the Crimean war, "bathed in crimson light a sight worthy of admiration: on the one side, upon the plateau, yesterday sombre and solitary, the activity of a sudden life; men in uniform with glittering weapons, alert and gay, cheerily preparing their bivouacs for the night; tents pitched, fires lighted, and further away towards the darkening east, the cavalry corps going out to establish, for the safety of all, the network of outposts and the chain of sentinels. On the other side, countless vessels, their black hulls rising out of the undulations of the sea, and the fine lace-work of their spars and rigging relieved against the crimson background of the sunset; finally, to complete the effect, the far-off accompaniment of the guns that had been heard to roar since noon, a feint made by the 4th French division at the mouth of the Alma, and as far along the coast as Katscha, with the design of distracting the attention of the enemy. Later,



when the darkness came on, these ships returned to the rest of the fleet moored off the coast. The wind came up with the night, and a heavy storm broke over the encampment; the French soldiers in their well-sheltered tents were scarcely protected, while the English, who had not yet their arrangements completed, suffered much from the storm."

On the 19th of September the allied troops broke camp and began their march towards Sevastopol. "I am not disposed to stay forever before the place," wrote Marshal St. Arnaud, "and leave the Russian armies time to arrive from Perekop, and dispute my conquest. I wish to take Sevastopol quickly, and make myself master of the Crimea in order to be able to choose an advantageous battle-ground where I can wait for the Russians, that is, if I do not have time to hold the isthmus of Perekop against them. The very name of Sevastopol has had an effect like magic; everybody looks up, the coldest are excited. The general enthusiasm grows stronger daily. The cannon will do the rest." During the first day's march many from both armies fell behind. Some were overwhelmed by the heat of the sun, others were yet feeble from illness and unable to bear the fatigues of the march; it was in vain to tell them that they would be made prisoners by the Cossacks; exhaustion spoke louder than reason. When the troops arrived on the banks of the Bulganak, where it had been determined to bivouac for the night, it was necessary to send back a detachment to pick up the stragglers who had been left behind.

Before nightfall, a reconnoissance with four squadrons of cavalry, made in the direction of the Alma, encountered a Russian reconnoissance, behind which the keen eye of one of the English officers was able to detect what appeared to be, and in reality was, the main body of the Russian army drawn up on the left bank of the Alma, to prevent the advance of the allies. By a judicious retreat, the English squadrons were

saved from destruction, but it became evident that a battle must take place at this point. It was apprehended that the Russians might issue from their entrenchments and be ready to fall upon the allies at the dawn of day. The troops therefore bivouacked in order of battle; but the night passed without disturbance, and before sunrise, on the morning of the 20th of September, the advance of the French and English commenced.

Prince Mentschikoff was personally in command of the Russian troops. His forces consisted of three thousand four hundred cavalry, thirty-three thousand infantry, and two thousand six hundred artillerymen, making in all thirty-nine thousand men, with one hundred and six guns. Besides this, he expected considerable reinforcements. He believed himself perfectly secure in the admirable position he had chosen, until enormous superiority in numbers and the fatigue of the enemy thus held at bay, would enable him to destroy them without difficulty. At the foot of his position flowed the Alma, bordering like a moat the high ground occupied by the Russian army. The little river, though strong and rapid, is shallow during the summer season, and has several fords; a wooden bridge existed, also, at the time of the action. All along the right bank are gardens and vineyards, enclosed by low walls. There were also two villages, somewhat more than a mile apart. The immediate approach to the river is gentle on the north side, but the ground on the south side has been cut away a good deal by the action of the spring torrents, and, at one point, a steep cliff rises almost vertically to a height of from eight to fifteen feet. The great high road coming from the north crosses the bridge and goes on towards Sevastopol through a ravine, by which the ascent is easy to the top of the plateau. This road made the weak point in the Russian position, and was defended by the heavy guns of a redoubt and by a great force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

It is not important to relate the details of a disorderly battle, feebly planned, and having no other object than by a direct attack in front to force the Russians to abandon their position and leave open to the allies the road to Sevastopol. Like most of the battles fought in Europe since the long peace, the battle of the Alma was rather an affair of officers and soldiers than of generals. There were the heights crowned by a brave and resolute army composed of men who were ready to die at their posts rather than give way; the Russian artillery was there, sweeping the ranks of the assailants; little it mattered to the indomitable valor of the English and French soldiers. They were resolved to conquer the position; and some running, others in formal order of march, as Marshal St. Arnaud said, the allies pushed the attack with equal ardor.

Shortly after one o'clock in the afternoon the battle began; at four o'clock it was over. The river had been crossed, the heights mounted, the redoubt carried, the Russians were in full retreat. Twice repulsed, but still returning to the attack, the English had made themselves masters of the Russian positions on the left of the ravine, while the French were establishing themselves on the plateau at the right. General Bosquet had been entrusted with the task of turning the enemy's flank. His movement had succeeded, and his guns soon overpowered the Russian artillery. But the sound seemed doubtful for a time. "I tell you those are the guns of Bosquet," cried the French marshal; "he has gained the position on the plateau: I see the red trousers; oh, I am certain that is my old Bosquet of Africa!" "Our soldiers have no longer a doubt;" he wrote on the 21st, "and still the Russians held their ground well yesterday. Three times we had to advance to the attack. They are good soldiers,—but the English and the French! what troops! what solidity on the one side, what ardor, what dash on the other! I have never seen a more splendid pano-



rama than this battle! I ascended the heights in order to better observe the movements of the army; thence I could see the positions carried by our Zouaves and the English army advancing in line under the Russian fire. It was sublime. Lord Raglan's courage is of the antique mould; in the midst of balls and shells there is always the same composure."

At four o'clock the battle was over; the Russians were retreating, dreading a pursuit which might have brought upon them utter destruction. But the pursuit did not take place. The French cavalry was insufficient; for lack of transportation the horses had not been sent forward; and Marshal St. Arnaud, ill and worn out with fatigue, opposed the prolongation of the contest. Lord Raglan, who was better supplied with cavalry, reluctantly yielded to the wish of the French commander. The Russian loss was heavy; it was officially stated to be five thousand seven hundred and nine, but is believed to have been considerably greater. The English, who bore the heaviest of the battle, lost, in killed and wounded, about two thousand men; the French official account reports a loss of one thousand three hundred and thirty-nine.

For forty years Europe had been happily unused to the bitter joys of war; the news of the victory of the Alma excited raptures exaggerated by distance and novelty; no one in France or England doubted the speedy surrender of Sevastopol. The most moderate allowed the besieging forces a month in which to carry the place, and only a few persons of political sagacity ventured to doubt that the complete humiliation of the Russian power would immediately follow the entry of the allies into Sevastopol.

Confidence and enthusiasm were soon to be followed by discouragement and anxiety. A new feature in military operations was the presence in the English camp of the "special correspondent," intelligent, active, keen-sighted, to whom was entrusted the duty of sending home, at brief intervals, all the information



that he could gather in respect to the condition of the army and the military operations which were going on. Among his brethren of the press, the correspondent of the Times, Mr. Russell, soon gained, both in England and in the Crimea, a reputation which overtopped those of the other journalists by as much as the importance of the newspaper to which he was attached surpassed others. From him England began to learn the sad condition of her army. The victory of the Alma had not conquered the cholera, of which the ravages, wrote Lord Raglan, extended to the very battle-field.

The fine order of the troops could not conceal the gaps of every kind daily manifested in the organization of the commissariat and of the hospital-service. The confusion in these departments was extreme; the ample supplies furnished by the English government were wasted, or never reached the sufferers who needed them. Some transport vessels had been lost at sea; others had landed their freight at remote points where it was totally useless. Inexperience was conspicuous at all points, and this just at the time when the hopes and illusions of the public and of the army were beginning to disappear. There was no more talk heard of taking Sevastopol by a *coup de main*, but rather of entering upon the formal siege of a place fortified in an unusual and irregular manner, and garrisoned by about thirty-two thousand men, under the command not only of some of the most important personages in the Russian Empire, Prince Mentschikoff, and the old admirals, Korniloff and Nachimoff, but also by Colonel Todleben, recently sent from the army of the Danube to that of the Crimea, and serving at first merely on the staff of Prince Mentschikoff, but soon after by his rare genius as a military engineer placed in the first rank, and united forever in history with the memory of the brave and skilful defence of Sevastopol.

The allies remained for two days upon the banks of the

Alma, burying the dead and transporting the wounded to the ships. On the morning of the 23d of September, the two armies moved forward as far as the valley of the Katscha, where they bivouacked for the night. On the morning of the 24th, the intended advance towards Sevastopol was checked by news from the fleet that during the night of the 22d the Russian ships of war lying in the harbor of Sevastopol had been sunk by the Russians themselves, thus barring the entrance to the roadstead, and rendering impossible the co-operation of the allied fleet in the attack upon the town.

When Prince Mentschikoff fell back upon Sevastopol, he appears to have given up all hope of barring the approach of the allied armies, but there yet remained the possibility of keeping out the fleet from the great harbor of Sevastopol. He sent for Admiral Korniloff, and ordered him to sacrifice, to this end, the oldest and heaviest of the Russian ships, seven in number. The sailor at first refused: "I will never do it," he said. "In that case," replied the prince, "you will return to your post at Nicholayeff, after having given to Admiral Staniovitch the necessary orders." At this, Korniloff yielded, not being able to endure the idea of leaving Sevastopol in this hour of danger. He proceeded to give the orders which it broke his heart to speak, stifling the germs of resistance which showed themselves among the officers, and preaching resignation to the sailors.

"It is indeed cruel to destroy our navy," he said; "we had made great efforts to bring these unlucky ships to a perfection which excites the world's envy. But we must yield to a stern necessity. Moscow was burned, but Russia did not perish. On the contrary, she gained new strength. God is merciful. Doubtless He prepares to-day a like destiny for his faithful people. Let us then pray to the Lord, and not allow ourselves to be conquered by our powerful enemy!"

All day, on the 22d, the ships destined to bar with their

sunken wrecks the entry to the harbor, lay at anchor in line between the two forts, Alexander and Constantine, not otherwise than as if they were made ready to sail out against the enemy. At six o'clock in the evening, upon Prince Mentschikoff's final and peremptory order, the crews began to dismantle them. Towards morning the work was completed; then, one after another, the great ships were scuttled, and sank amid the whirling waves. On the 23d, at daybreak, there remained above water only two of the victims mortally wounded and desperately struggling against death. One of them, the frigate *Flora*, went under a few minutes after sunrise. The other, a ship of a hundred and thirty guns, the most heavily armed of all the fleet, still floated, and seemed to cling to life. The agony of the marines crowded on the shore united with the long torture of the ship. At last, by order of the Admiral, the steam-frigate *Thunder-Bearer* poured a broadside into the colossus; it was the *coup de grace*; the great ship slowly settled to the water's edge, and in a few minutes disappeared from sight. The destruction of the Russian ships had been witnessed from a great distance, and the sound of the cannonading plainly heard by the allied fleets. Information of what had occurred was brought to the headquarters of the French and English armies early on the morning of the 24th, and occasioned an important change in the plans of the two generals.

The city of Sevastopol is situated on the southwestern coast of the Crimea, partly on the northern and partly on the southern shore of an arm of the sea, which, with a breadth of about three-quarters of a mile, stretches inland to a distance of three miles and a half. This forms the "great harbor," or roadstead of Sevastopol, and it was across the entrance to this inlet that the ships were sunk. The entrance and the shores of this inlet were guarded by great casemated forts and enormous earth-works. On the high ground on the north side stood the Star



Fort, an octagon earth-work looking down upon the open sea to the west and upon the roadstead to the south. This fort had not been designed against attacks from the north, and was commanded by higher ground lying northward. On news of the approach of the allies the ground adjacent to the Star Fort had been strengthened in haste, and another earth-work erected further to the north, commanding the mouth of the Belbec, a point important to the allies as the landing-place for their siege-trains and other heavy munitions.

Notwithstanding these precautions, Prince Mentschikoff had not deemed the protection of the north side of the roadstead sufficient, and it was his design to abandon it and concentrate the defence on the south side, at the same time withdrawing with nearly all his army from the town, and taking up a position to the eastward, at Batschi Seräi, on the great high-road leading to the interior. In this way he would keep open his communications, and also be able to harass the allies to a degree which would prevent them from making a successful attack upon Sevastopol. During the night of the 24th, this design was carried into effect. The main army, with the exception of five thousand militia and one battalion of sappers, moved out of Sevastopol, crossing the valley of the Tchernaya, and ascended the Mackenzie Heights. The defence of the town was thus left almost entirely to the sailors. Vice-Admiral Korniloff had taken command of the forces on the north side. The seamen, withdrawn from the fleet to defend the south side, were under the orders of Vice-Admiral Nachimoff, and the small land-force left behind by Prince Mentschikoff was under the command of General Möller.

The south side of Sevastopol was much the larger and more important part of the town, containing the admiralty, the arsenal, great storehouses and docks, and barracks on a large scale. The main part of the town occupied a long hill, two



hundred feet above the level of the sea; and parallel to this hill a creek, the prolongation of a deep ravine, makes a second and inner harbor, in which the largest men-of-war can ride at anchor close to the shore. South of the city lies a great plateau, crowning the promontory called by the Russians the Chersonese, which here extends ten miles westward into the sea. This plateau is deeply cleft by many ravines, running from south-east to north-west, prolonged, all along the northern side of the Chersonese, in creeks and inlets, like the inner harbor of Sevastopol. The southern side of the promontory, however, presents to the sea an unbroken wall of rock until the inlet and port of Balaklava are reached; and thence northward to a point on the Tchernaya, half a mile from the head of the roadstead of Sevastopol, another steep wall, rising to a height of from five to seven hundred feet, separates the plateau from the plain lying eastward. Only one gap in this rocky defence exists, at a point about three miles from the southern coast, and has been called the Col di Balaklava. The inlet, about three-quarters of a mile long, and half a mile wide, affords water deep enough for the largest ships. On the eastern shore of this little bay lies the town of Balaklava, little more than a single street of houses, surrounded by hills, a road leading northward through a gap in these hills. At about three miles beyond the town, this road, branching to the west, leads up through the Col to the summit of the plateau, and itself continues in a north-easterly direction, becoming the main road into the interior.

The sinking of the Russian ships of war had rendered it impossible for the allied fleet to enter the roadstead and co-operate in an attack on the north side, as had been at first designed. Even before this, the plan of a flank march around the head of the great harbor and an attack on the south, had been seriously considered, and now the question was at once decided. In a letter dated at six in the evening of the 24th, Marshal St. Arnaud

wrote: "To-morrow morning early, I start and march upon Balaklava." And before noon of the 25th of September, the whole army, in one long column, was in motion. Lord Raglan was anxious to gain the high road at a spot called Mackenzie's Farm, and to reach this point it was necessary to strike across a low wooded country, almost without roads. Only a narrow lane led from the river to the farm, and this was taken by the artillery, while the infantry were obliged to force their way by compass through the forest, and the cavalry picked out a path where it was possible to find one. In this way the artillery went forward, the rest of the English troops following as best they might, and the French troops bringing up the rear. Just before the English advance reached the main road on the Mackenzie Heights, they encountered the rear of Prince Mentschikoff's army moving north-eastward. It was a surprise to both, and might have brought a great disaster upon the English army, but the Russians seemed to be unaware of their opportunity. A slight skirmish ensued, a little plunder was taken by the English, and both armies continued their march. From the Mackenzie Farm a steep road ran down to the Tchernaya, and on the banks of this stream the English bivouacked, while the French were not able to get further than the Mackenzie Farm. On the morning of the 26th, Lord Raglan, with the advance guard of his army, arrived in Balaklava, and almost simultaneously, an English man-of-war came into the harbor.

The next day the French divisions came up, and it was soon evident that the town and harbor were too small to receive both French and English. The French vessels therefore moved to the westward, and, passing the point of the Chersonese, occupied the bays of Kamiesh and Kazatch, while the land forces spread out over the south-western part of the plateau.

Before arriving upon the ground to be occupied by the siege operations of the allies, the French army had changed leaders. For a long time suffering from disease, yet sustained by an indomitable will, Marshal St. Arnaud was attacked on the 24th of September by cholera, and on the 26th he was considered fatally ill. Upon the announcement of his condition he at once sent for General Canrobert and resigned to him the command. This was in pursuance of the Emperor Napoleon's orders in case Marshal St. Arnaud should be in any way disabled, a commission having been entrusted to General Canrobert, the existence of which was not at the time made known to the marshal. An order of the day was addressed to the army, containing the farewell and last words of encouragement of the dying leader. "Soldiers, you will pity me," it said, "for the misfortune which falls upon me is immense, irreparable, and perhaps unexampled. You will surround General Canrobert with your respect, your confidence. . . . He will continue the victory of the Alma, and will have the happiness which I had hoped for myself, of leading you into Sevastopol." On the 29th, the marshal, wrapped in the French flag, was carried on board ship. The vessel put out to sea, but before night, Marshal St. Arnaud had ceased to breathe.

In consequence of the English troops occupying Balaklava, a change of position was agreed upon between them and the French, the latter henceforth keeping the left, and the English occupying the right in the attack upon Sevastopol. The hope of speedy victory had not yet completely abandoned the besieging forces. "I am of opinion," wrote General Canrobert, on the 20th of September, "that we shall not be obliged to proceed with the methodical delays of a regular siege, and that the town can be taken by assault, after its defensive works have been breached by our cannon."

These defences, however, had been made very formidable.



In the interval that had elapsed between the battle of the Alma, and the time when the allied army commenced its siege operations, the city had been converted by the genius of Colonel Todleben into a strongly intrenched camp. Sailors and soldiers, civilians, and even women, had worked day and night, throwing up earthworks and mounting guns. All the vast resources of an arsenal — perhaps the largest in the world — crowded with warlike material of every kind, had been utilized in the best possible manner, and a moral and religious enthusiasm on the part of the besieged added an incalculable element of strength to all the preparations made for resistance. The three principal works were the Malakoff Tower, at the eastern angle of the fortifications, the Redan, southwest of the Malakoff, and the Flagstaff Bastion, west of the Redan. Just beyond the latter bastion, the line of fortifications turned towards the north, going down to the great harbor, and on this western side, the Central and Quarantine Bastions were the principal points of defence. Owing to the relative positions taken up by the allied armies, the English confronted the Malakoff and the Redan, and the French the Flagstaff and the bastions of the west side. The position of Balaklava, — the British base of operations, — was defended by a force of marines with heavy ship-guns, and by redoubts garrisoned with Turks. The cavalry camp was also established in the neighborhood, and a French force, with some Turks, barred the road to the plateau by the Col di Balaklava. The weak point of the British lines was at the extreme right, which was open to an attack from the north. Meantime, the access to the city being open on the north side, Prince Mentschikoff had drawn near with his army, and fourteen battalions were detached to serve with the garrison, the prince still remaining outside with his main army, to fall, at suitable occasion, upon the allies' flank.

From the 7th to the 9th of October, the French and English







## POLE with the Allies







began the sinking of trenches and formation of batteries. On the 8th, General Bizot, the French engineer in charge of the works, wrote: "It would be difficult to estimate in advance the length of time we shall be obliged to employ in the siege. We are before a place newly created, in respect to which no document or plan is within our reach; we are going to make trial of material whose range and calibre is unknown to us. Lastly, it is impossible completely to invest the place."

Up to the 16th, the work went on, somewhat molested by the artillery of the Russians. On that evening the English had their batteries all established, and stood ready with the French, to open fire in the morning. The English had seventy-three guns in position, and the French, fifty-three. Against these the Russians had in position over two hundred guns. It was decided that the allied fleets, which lay off the roadstead of Sevastopol, should move up and join in the attack, assailing the great sea-forts, Constantine and Alexander.

At half-past six on the morning of the 17th, the attack began by land, but it was after one o'clock before the first cannonading came from the fleet. From the batteries a tremendous storm of shot and shell was poured upon the town, to which the Russian guns responded with murderous precision. The positions of the French artillery had been badly chosen; disastrous explosions took place in their works, the material damage was heavy and the loss of life great, and at half-past ten in the morning their batteries ceased fire. The English attack was more fortunate. They demolished the Malakoff Tower, exploded its magazine and the magazine of the Redan, and nearly destroyed the Redan itself.

Upon the whole, however, the advantage remained with the Russians. The attack upon the great forts was entirely unsuccessful, and the only irreparable calamity to the besieged was the loss of Admiral Korniloff. While examining the disasters

suffered by the Malakoff, his thigh was shattered by a round shot. A group of officers at once surrounded him: "I entrust to you the defence of Sevastopol," he said to them in a firm voice, "never surrender it!" He was carried to the naval hospital, where in two hours he died. "Tell everybody," he said, "how pleasant it is to die when the conscience is pure!" His last words were the prayer of a dying patriot: "O God! bless Russia and the emperor! Save Sevastopol and the fleet!" The bastion near which he had been wounded was thenceforth called by his name.

Meanwhile Prince Mentschikoff was maturing a plan of attack, in the hope of forcing the allies to raise the siege. The position at Balaklava was manifestly weak, and here he decided to make his first attempt. A large Russian force was gathered in the valley of the Tchernaya, and, on the 25th of September, at five o'clock in the morning, the Russian columns moved forward to attack the outer line of the defence, a row of knolls strengthened by redoubts and garrisoned by about one thousand Turks, with seven twelve-pounder guns. The redoubts were quickly taken, one after another, and the Russians continued their advance toward the English positions. The English cavalry meanwhile had been on the alert, and were posted to receive them, together with the 93d Highlanders. The English division of horse consisted of two brigades, the Light Cavalry and the Heavy Dragoons. The general in command of the division was Lord Lucan; and the Earl of Cardigan and General Scarlett were at the head of the brigades. Sir Colin Campbell had command of the infantry, and of the general defences of Balaklava.

After taking the redoubts, a body of Russian cavalry made an advance towards the gorge leading to the town, but being resolutely received by the Highlanders, turned their horses' heads and retreated rapidly. Meantime the main body of Russian cavalry advanced toward the west until it came within range of the

batteries on the plateau of the Chersonese, and received two shots. Upon this, the whole force, about three thousand strong, wheeled obliquely aside and turned southward. This movement brought them upon the English Heavy Cavalry, four squadrons of Greys and Enniskilleners. "The Russians," wrote Mr. Russell, who was an eye-witness of the scene, "advanced down the hill at a slow canter, which they changed to a trot, and at last nearly halted. Their first line was nearly double the length of ours, and it was at least three times as deep. Behind them was a similar line equally strong and compact. They evidently despised their insignificant-looking enemy, but their time was come. The trumpets rang out through the valley, and the Greys and Enniskilleners went right at the centre of the Russian cavalry. The space between them was only a few hundred yards; it was scarcely enough to let the horses gather way, nor had the men quite space enough for the play of their sword-arms. The Russian line brought forward each wing as our cavalry advanced, and threatened to annihilate them as they passed on. Turning a little to the left, so as to meet the Russian right, the Greys rushed on with a cheer that thrilled every heart. The wild shout of the Enniskilleners rose through the air at the same instant. As lightning flashes through a cloud, the Greys and Enniskilleners pierced through the dark masses of Russians. The shock was but for a moment. There was a clash of steel, and a light play of sword-blades in the air, and then the Greys and red coats disappeared in the midst of the shaken and quivering columns. In another moment we saw them emerging with diminished numbers and in broken order, charging against the second line. . . . By sheer steel and by sheer courage, Enniskillener and Scot were winning their desperate way right through the enemy's squadrons, and already red coats and gray horses had appeared at the rear of the second mass, when, with irresistible force, like one bolt from a bow, the 4th Dragoon



Guards, riding straight at the right flank of the Russians, and the 5th Dragoon Guards, following close after the Enniskilleners, rushed at the remnants of the first line of the enemy, and put them to utter rout." The Russian cavalry fled in disorder, and did not draw rein till they had gone two miles, and were sheltered behind their own guns and among their infantry. General Scarlett pursued them a short distance, but stopped before coming under fire of the enemy's guns. Lord Raglan and General Canrobert, with many officers from both of the besieging armies, watched this action from the edge of the plateau, and the delight and enthusiasm of the spectators was extreme.

Shortly after, Lord Raglan, attentively observing the ground below him, perceived what seemed to be a movement on the part of the Russians to remove the guns from the captured redoubts. This was too much for the scrupulous honor of the general-in-chief, trained by the Duke of Wellington in the belief that an officer should never lose a gun. He sent down a message to Lord Lucan to the effect that the cavalry should advance and try to prevent the enemy from carrying off the guns. Lord Lucan, it appears, misunderstood the order, construing it to mean that the cavalry should not only advance but should attack, and the aid-de-camp Captain Nolan, who brought the message, shared in the misconception. After a few words, Lord Lucan rode up to the Earl of Cardigan, who, with the Light Cavalry, had remained a near but inactive spectator of the conflict between the Russians and the Heavy Dragoons. Lord Lucan delivered the order of the commander-in-chief. "Lord Lucan," says Lord Cardigan, in his testimony under oath, "then came to our front, and ordered me to attack the Russians in the valley. I replied, 'Certainly, Sir, but allow me to point out to you that the Russians have a battery in our front, and batteries and riflemen on each flank.' Lord Lucan said, 'I cannot help that; it is Lord Raglan's positive





CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE.



order that the Light Brigade attacks immediately.'” Upon this Lord Cardigan turned to his soldiers, and said simply, “The brigade will advance.” The Light Brigade was drawn up facing a valley which led to the bridge over the Tchernaya. The hills on the left of this valley were black with infantry, sixteen guns were in position, and a body of Cossack riflemen were extended as skirmishers on the lower slopes; across the mouth of the valley stood the Russian cavalry, having in front of them a battery of guns. On the right two redoubts were occupied, and more than half the Russian infantry, and a body of lancers, were in position. Riflemen were also extended along both sides of the valley.

Six hundred and seventy-three men: the 13th Light Dragoons, the 17th Lancers, the 11th Hussars, the 4th Light Dragoons, and the 8th Hussars, were the attacking force. Lord Cardigan rode in front of the centre of the first line, a conspicuous figure in hussar uniform. He rode forward steadily, looking neither to right nor left, straight on towards the guns, themselves invisible, but indicating their location by the white bank of smoke cut every few minutes by jets of flame. The spectators upon the heights were filled with horror at the sight of this gallant handful of men riding steadily to destruction, without blenching for an instant from their duty. Voices cried out, “Stop! Stop! this is madness!” But they were drowned in the tumult and the Light Cavalry galloped forward, involuntarily increasing their speed until the advance had become almost a race, while still Lord Cardigan kept the regulation distance between himself and the foremost lines. The guns on their left, the battery in front, and guns from the redoubt were firing incessantly into their ranks; the valley was strewn with men and horses dead or dying, while the survivors closed in with a regularity which had the effect of a terrible piece of mechanism, so prompt and incessant was its operation.



At the battle of Essling, in defending the island of Lobau, General Mouthon for four hours was under the fire of all the Austrian artillery, walking up and down through the lines, saying only, "Close up the ranks!" as the soldiers fell all around him. During the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava, the thinned ranks closed up continually without orders; and when at last the survivors disappeared from sight into the smoke which overhung the Russians' guns more than half of the brigade were already left behind disabled, no man stopping to look after his fallen companions. "It is magnificent, but it is not war!" was the exclamation of General Bosquet, as he watched the advance of the decimated cavalry.

At an early hour in the day reinforcements, both English and French, had been despatched from the besieging army on the plateau to join their comrades fighting on the lower ground,\* but the difficulties of their march had retarded them for several hours. At this time, however, the Chasseurs d'Afrique under General d'Allonville were standing, drawn up at the left of the ground whence the Light Brigade had started, and General Morris ordered them at once to attack the Russian batteries upon the hills at the left. The attack was most brilliant and successful; the artillery was forced to retreat, and thus one of the flanking fires had been brought to an end, when the moment came for the return of the Light Brigade.

Arriving at the Russian battery, the squadrons charged in between the guns; the Russian artillerymen still sought to defend them, but were finally cut down or put to flight. The Russian cavalry, posted behind the guns, showed signs of weakness, and, with strong reinforcements, a brilliant victory might have been gained. The two hundred and thirty English horsemen who reached the Russian guns were not, however, able to drive before them thousands of cavalry, and, by degrees, gathering themselves together, the shattered squadrons



extricated themselves and rode back through the battery and up the valley, to rejoin the rest of the army. On their return, one flanking fire still harassed them, and when they reached the open ground, only one hundred and ninety-five mounted men remained of the six hundred and seventy-three who, twenty minutes before, had answered to Lord Cardigan's order,—“The brigade will advance.” When the shattered band re-formed, Lord Cardigan rode up to the front: “Men,” he said, “this has been a great blunder; but it is no fault of mine.” And the men cheered, and called out, “Never mind, my lord; we are ready to go again!”

The charge of the Light Brigade was the last important event of the day. At four o'clock the final guns were fired, and, at dusk, the French troops and the British infantry divisions, with the exception of the Highland Brigade, returned to the plateau. The allies lost in killed and wounded, about six hundred officers and men; the Russians about six hundred and thirty. The Russians remained in undisturbed possession of the ground which they had taken, and of seven English guns from the redoubts. The garrison in Sevastopol gave thanks for a victory, and Prince Mentschikoff urged forward his hostile preparations. On the 30th of October, he wrote to Prince Paskevitch, at Warsaw: “The enemy does not show himself outside of his lines; we harass him incessantly, and kill his soldiers; our squadrons make frequent raids and attacks. The enemy sends them a few shells, but the cavalry dares not risk itself from under cover of the batteries. The army is full of enthusiasm. General Liprandi, whose coolness and resolution I cannot sufficiently praise, has thrown up earthworks, strongly armed, on the enemy's right flank, and, from the position he holds, threatens their rear. The enemy cannot operate without exposing himself to immense loss; if the weather serves us, nothing can save him from complete destruction. All the world

will remember, I feel certain, the exemplary chastisement inflicted upon the allies. When our beloved grand-dukes arrive, I shall be able to give over to them, intact, the precious trust which the emperor has confided to me. Sebastopol will remain ours. Heaven visibly protects Holy Russia."

Prince Mentschikoff daily expected the arrival of the two sons of the Emperor Nicholas. He had been heavily reinforced, and was now able to oppose one hundred and twenty thousand men (including the sailors of the fleet), to the sixty-five thousand remaining to the allies.

On their part, the French and English worked with great industry at strengthening their position and advancing the siege works. It was the plan of the allied generals to open a fierce fire upon Sevastopol early in November, in the hope of taking the city by assault. But again attention was diverted from the siege by an aggressive movement on the part of Prince Mentschikoff. The right flank of the English position had always been the weak point of the entire line. Here valleys lying between the projecting spurs of the plateau gave access to an attacking force from below. Here an attack was, in fact, made and repulsed, on the day after the battle of Balaklava. The attention of the generals was called to the danger, but it seemed impossible to heed the warning. "The various exigencies to be provided for on other points at that time," afterwards wrote Sir De Lacy Evans, who was posted there with the 2d Division, "scarcely left it possible, I believe, to afford any material reinforcements or means for the construction of defences." At five o'clock in the morning of Sunday, November 5th, General Soimonoff with nineteen thousand infantry and thirty-eight guns marched out of the eastern gate of Sevastopol and, climbing a ravine, reached the crest of the hill almost before his movements had been detected. On the preceding day unusual signs of activity had indeed been discerned in the region to the east of

the plateau, distinguished by the ruins of the ancient city of Inkerman, but no important military change had been discovered. On the morning of the fifth a heavy mist overhung the entire plateau, and the officer from headquarters, making the rounds before daybreak to ascertain if any change was observed in the attitude of the enemy, learned that the night had been unusually quiet. After a few minutes General Codrington, the officer commanding one of the brigades encamped on Mount Inkerman, rode to the front, as he was accustomed to do daily; the relieved pickets had just come in, dripping with the fog and chilled by the cold; and no advance had been detected. Suddenly a fire of musketry on the left was audible, and soon after the same ominous sound made itself heard from the right. The skirmishers of General Soimonoff's column had touched the line of English pickets at the left, while from the side of the Tchernaya, another column under General Pauloff was advancing to co-operate with the troops under Soimonoff, upon the crest of the hill.

The general at once galloped back to call out the division, and the troops formed in haste, while the sound of firing was now heard from almost every part of the twelve miles' front of battle which the enemy had prepared himself to present. The attack on Mount Inkerman was the central movement, but all along under the plateau towards Balaklava on the English right, Russian troops were posted and batteries established, while the whole garrison of the city made part of the line, ready for sorties upon the allied camps whenever the fortune of the day should favor such movements.

The position upon Mount Inkerman was extremely open to attack. Some days before, Sir De Lacy Evans had remarked that such was the character of the ground occupied by his division, that the enemy might be upon them any day, almost without notice. The whole northern half of Mount Inkerman had been



deliberately left to the Russians, being so commanded by the batteries of Sevastopol and by the ships of war in the great harbor as to be practically untenable. The formation of the ground is peculiar; making the north-eastern angle of the Chersonese, it is separated by a deep ravine, running north-west and south-east, from the rest of the plateau. In length about three miles, and about two miles and a quarter in width at its northern extremity, it narrows irregularly toward the south, till the isthmus of land connecting it with the main plateau has only a width of about four hundred yards along its crest. The ground is extremely broken and irregular, a ridge running through it lengthwise and throwing out lateral ribs, and in the centre an elevation of considerable height, which was at the time called Shell Hill, (a point constantly shelled by the enemy) with its ribs to the right and left, offered a commanding site for the establishment of field batteries. Eastward, and nearer the English camp, had been erected some earth-works, but these were soon after abandoned and disarmed; but around one of them, known as the Sand-bag Battery, a parapet eight or ten feet high, the fight raged that day so fiercely that, taken and re-taken three times before nine o'clock in the morning, the French, arriving later, could call it nothing but "the slaughter-house."

At the isthmus lay encamped the 2d Division, and a low ridge of ground, the English Heights, protected them on the north. They threw out a chain of pickets to ground about a mile in advance of the camp, the chain being a good deal drawn in towards the camp at night.

Rapidly and silently making the ascent by the ravines on the north-east and north-west of Mount Inkerman, the two Russian army corps reached the crest of the hill, General Soimonoff, however, so much in advance that he had posted his batteries on Shell Hill, and opened fire upon the English camp, and thrown forward his infantry in an attack, before General Pauloff effected the designed junction.















Meantime General Pennefather, who was, in consequence of Sir De Lacy Evans' illness, in charge of the 2d Division, was obstinately disputing every step of ground with the enemy. The attack in its early stages had not the appearance of being the opening of a great battle, for the English force was very small, and the Russians so held back that their immense numbers, through the mist of the early morning, were quite unapparent to those who stood opposed to them. For more than an hour this resistance was effectual. General Soimonoff, present in the thickest of the fight, was mortally wounded, and an English force, including in all about three thousand six hundred men, with the aid of some batteries, kept at bay twenty-five thousand, and even drove off the field no less than twenty battalions, consisting of fifteen thousand men.

The immense numerical strength of the Russians, however, soon began to tell. Ten thousand fresh infantry, with ninety-seven additional guns, had just reached the summit of the hill. General Dannenberg, who was to take the supreme command in the field, had arrived, and the attack was renewed. Reinforcements brought to General Pennefather were as follows: three field-batteries, and about three thousand infantry of the Guards and the 4th Division. Lord Raglan had been in the field for some time, not with the view of superseding General Pennefather, but of offering him succor, and of keeping himself well informed of the progress of the battle. General Canrobert had also arrived, and it was agreed to call upon two battalions of French infantry belonging to General Bosquet's division.

At a very early period of the engagement, General Bosquet — whose troops guarded the Col di Balaklava, and commanded the ground below, from their camp along the edge of the plateau whose extreme left was less than three miles from the camp of the 2d Division — had detected that the Russian attack

at the left was little more than a feint, and that the real point of danger was Mount Inkerman. He ordered, therefore, a considerable reinforcement to move up towards the isthmus, and hastened thither in person. On the way, he met Sir George Brown and Sir George Cathcart, and offered his aid, saying that he had some infantry and artillery already on the way, and should be able to send up more. The two generals declined the offer, and assuring General Bosquet that the English reserves would be sufficient, begged him merely to watch the ground which had been specially intrusted to him. Upon this, General Bosquet sent back his battalions, but he did not dismiss his anxiety to be of service to the little band so hardly bested upon Mount Inkerman. Hence, when messengers came from Lord Raglan, intimating that his assistance would be welcome, he at once ordered Bourbaki to proceed to the scene of conflict with the same troops he had before ordered to advance: two thousand one hundred and fifteen infantry, and two troops of horse-artillery. He also ordered two battalions of the 3d Zouaves, a battalion of Algerines, and the two battalions of the 50th Regiment to follow. More than half of these six thousand troops were in time to bear a brilliant and important share in the day's events, and the remainder, though not sent into the active fray, were on the spot and ready, two hours before the battle ended.

Vehement cheers from the English greeted the two battalions — the 7th *Léger* and the 6th of the line — answering back the drums and clarions of the French, as the latter arrived upon the isthmus. They were halted for a few minutes, awaiting orders, then led over the ridge and into the battle. Other French battalions shortly followed them, and the contest was renewed with tremendous vigor. General Bosquet took the offensive, and Russian writers agree that from the moment the French entered the field the fate of the day was decided. For

four hours eight thousand British troops had held their ground, defeating successively great masses of Russians, and now, the accession of fresh troops, fired with enthusiasm and eager for conflict, came at the very moment when their presence was able to turn the scale. The battle still raged for hours; the Russian artillery still thundered upon the allies, and the heavy masses of Russian infantry moved forward with determined courage, and were driven back with the sharpest fighting.

Between eleven and one o'clock, the aggressive movements gradually slackened. But the Russians had suffered heavily. Finally, General Dannenberg decided on a retreat, and gave his orders accordingly. Slowly and in good order the Russians fell back, the infantry guarding the withdrawal of the guns. A pursuit was judged inexpedient on the part of the allies, and it was eight o'clock in the evening when the last piece of cannon entered within the Russian lines of defence.

A loss of nearly eleven thousand killed and wounded was reported by the Russians; among their number were twelve officers of high position, —generals and colonels. The losses of the English were two thousand three hundred and fifty-seven, thirty-nine officers being killed and ninety-one wounded. The French loss was thirteen officers and one hundred and thirty men killed, and thirty-six officers and seven hundred and fifty men wounded.

Victory remained with the allies, but it had been won at a cost that put an end to all hope of active operations on their part for the winter. Henceforth their object was to make themselves as secure as possible in the position they occupied. Lord Raglan, in a private letter to the Duke of Newcastle, explained the situation, dwelling especially on the smallness of the force under his command. "To speak frankly," he wrote, "we want every man you can send us."

Since the arrival of the troops in the Crimea, they had suf-



ferred extremely from illness. On the day before the battle of Inkerman more than seven thousand were reported unfit for duty. Overwork and exposure constantly increased this number. The ignorance and recklessness of the English soldiers were a surprise to their French comrades, and Lord Raglan himself felt the contrast between the two. The French soldier has but a half-pound of meat a day, while the Englishman, receiving three times as much, is more poorly fed. "My lord," General Bosquet once said, laughingly, to the English commander-in-chief, "let us make an arrangement which will be profitable to both nations: give me for one English soldier and one French one, your pound and a half of meat; we can save our ration, one man shall make soup for both, and English and French soldiers will both fare well on it, I can promise you." The culinary talent of the French soldier was not put to this test, however, and the English continued to suffer.

With the beginning of November, the severities of the climate were added to all the other hardships of the allied troops. Rain fell almost incessantly, and the earth changed to mud. On the 14th of November, a memorable storm burst upon the southern shores of the Crimea. Nearly every tent on the Chersonese was blown down, and its contents scattered. "The air," says Mr. Russell, "was filled with blankets, hats, great coats, little coats, and even tables and chairs! Mackintoshes, quilts, india-rubber tubs, bed-clothes, sheets of tent canvas, went whirling like leaves in the gale towards Sevastopol." Heavy wagons were blown over; and neither horse nor man could face the fury of the storm on the exposed plains. No fires could be lighted nor food cooked, and the sick with the well were all alike exposed, shelterless, to the fury of the weather.

Upon the sea the storm was, if possible, more violent; twenty-one transports were wrecked, loaded with the winter supplies





VIEW OF SEVASTOPOL



for the army, and the ships that escaped were so much damaged, that the army was for a long time deficient in sea-transport, and hence unable to repair the ravages inflicted by the storm on stores of all kinds.

When the people at home learned through the revelations of Mr. Russell and other war-correspondents, of the distress and privations endured by their sons and brothers in the Crimea, the heart of the English nation was deeply moved, and a most admirable outburst of useful liberality made itself manifest throughout England. In countless homes, supplies of all sorts — both garments and provisions — were made ready for the army in the Crimea. We, in France, know by experience of suffering, what the wealth and generous liberality of England can do in consoling and alleviating the miseries caused by war. In the winter of 1854–5, the sons of England suffered and fought side by side with our army, and upon her own children England had then occasion to lavish those fruits of her tender care which she would, one day, bestow upon us.

Especially the condition of the hospitals excited distress and commiseration. Although more men and more supplies were sent out to the medical department in the East than were ever supplied to a force of similar strength, yet, from want of foresight and administrative skill, the department became almost inefficient in the presence of the unusual and unexpected demands upon it. Finally, to a woman belongs the honor of bringing order and system out of disorder and confusion. Anxious to remedy these great evils, Mr. Sidney Herbert made an appeal to a distinguished woman of his acquaintance, Miss Florence Nightingale, who had long taken a deep interest in hospital work; he begged her to go out to Scutari and take charge of the hospital there, and offered her authority over all the nurses, and the unlimited power of drawing upon government for whatever she might judge needful for the success of her enterprise. Miss



Nightingale, a singularly amiable and attractive person, endowed, besides, with great intellectual gifts, had never felt willing to limit her usefulness to the peaceful circle of an elegant and luxurious life; she had long since recognized her vocation for the care of the sick, and was occupied in reorganizing a charitable institution in London at the time of Mr. Herbert's appeal to her. She hesitated not a moment, and gathering about her a few women of her own station, who were fired by her noble example, and a band of trained nurses, set out for Scutari. The party consisted of ten Roman Catholic nuns, eight Protestant Sisters, and twenty nurses already experienced in hospitals. She went from one hospital to another, reforming and reorganizing; everywhere respect and affection surrounded her, lightening a task that her own feeble health made every day more heavy. The maladies from which the soldiers were suffering in turn smote Miss Nightingale, but the moment she was able to walk she was once more at the bedside of the sick, the wounded, and the dying. "I have visited many thousand sick-beds," she said, "and I have never heard a word which could offend me." Her health in the end broke down utterly under the burden, but until the last day of the war, she remained at her post, devoted to the mission of patriotism and charity which she had undertaken. Her name will be forever associated with the story of the Crimean war, and the fruits of her devotion have been of lasting benefit. Her example brought many volunteers to the service of the Red Cross, while in the quiet homes of her own country, to this day, many a sufferer has blessed the lessons which her practical experience recorded for the instruction of persons having the care of the sick.

The misfortunes of the English army in the Crimea wrought upon the pride as well as upon the pity of the nation. Parliament met before Christmas, and, after the recess, Mr. Roebuck gave notice that he should move for an inquiry into the con-



dition of the army before Sevastopol, and the conduct of those departments of the government which minister to the wants of the army. Lord John Russell urged upon Lord Aberdeen the substitution of Lord Palmerston, as secretary of war, for the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Aberdeen refused to do this; and Lord John Russell, in spite of Lord Palmerston's earnest remonstrances, resigned, being of opinion that Mr. Roebuck's motion could not be conscientiously resisted. Mr. Roebuck's motion, though opposed by Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone, was accepted by a majority of 157. The ministry, being thus signally defeated, at once resigned, and Lord Palmerston was called upon to form a new Cabinet.

On the 15th of February, the new premier wrote to his brother: "A month ago, if any man had asked me to say what was the most improbable events, I should have said, 'my being prime minister.' Aberdeen was there; Derby was the head of one great party, John Russell of the other, and yet, in about ten days' time they all gave way like straws before the wind; and so here am I, writing to you from Downing Street, as first lord of the treasury."

The changes in the ministry were at first more important than numerous. Lord Derby and Lord John Russell having successively failed in the attempt to form a Cabinet, Lord Palmerston merely took Lord Aberdeen's place, and Lord Panmure, who had formerly, as Mr. Fox Maule, had the management of army affairs, took the place of the Duke of Newcastle as secretary of war; but after a time the changes became more radical. Lord Palmerston urged the House not to insist upon the inquiry for which Mr. Roebuck had called; he had already dispatched two commissions to the Crimea, and promised that government would thoroughly investigate the whole question. But public opinion was not satisfied. Lord Palmerston was forced to yield, and Sir James Graham, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Mr. Gladstone resigned.

Sir Charles Wood, Lord John Russell, and Sir George Cornwall Lewis filled the offices thus vacated.

About this time the allies were promised a reinforcement by the Sardinian contingent. The great minister who was to found the kingdom of Italy, Count Cavour, judged it useful for his country to take part in the wars of Europe in order to gain a right to take part in European councils. The brave Piedmontese regiments supported in the Crimea the cause of France and England against Russia, although it concerned them in no direct way. But this wise and far-seeing policy of Count Cavour had its result, and may be said to have laid the first stone in the edifice of the future greatness of their country and their sovereign.

Meanwhile an event to which all thoughts turned as favorable for peace had occurred in Russia, — the death of the czar, on the 2d of March, 1855. His disease was said to be pulmonary apoplexy, but it might perhaps more truly have been stated that he died of a broken heart, like Mr. Pitt after the battle of Austerlitz. The failure of an attack directed against Eupatoria, a seaport town north of Sevastopol which the allies had held through the winter, drawing thence large supplies of cattle and forage, had filled the measure of the czar's disappointments. He was unable longer to struggle against the despair which overwhelmed him and had so many times sent him to his oratory to pass hours in prayer, prostrated before the holy pictures of his patron saints. The two grand-dukes, who had been in the Crimea since the battle of Inkerman, and Prince Mentschikoff hastened to quit Sevastopol at the first news of the emperor's illness, but they had gone but a short distance on their journey when they received tidings of his death. The Emperor Nicholas had been accustomed to encourage himself with the recollection of 1812. "Russia has two generals upon whom she can always count," he used to say, "General January

and General February." An English caricature in *Punch* depicted General February, turned traitor, laying an icy hand upon the emperor's breast, and leading him away to the tomb. The Emperor Nicholas died with a firm and simple tranquillity, and his eldest son Alexander was immediately proclaimed. As is often the case, the heir-apparent had not shared in all his father's views and ideas. He was believed to be opposed to war theoretically, and to be at the present moment favorable towards negotiations for peace. At the instigation of Austria, a new Vienna conference was assembled, Lord John Russell representing the interests of England, and at the same time protecting those of Turkey. One of the main points of his instructions concerned the limitation of the Russian power in the Black Sea; but here the Russian plenipotentiaries were inflexible. Meanwhile, in his first proclamation to his subjects, the new czar was addressing to heaven a prayer as ambitious as any of those of his late father. "May Providence grant," he said, "that, under Divine guidance and protection, we may make Russia strong in the highest degree of power and glory, and that, through us, may be fulfilled the wishes and designs of our illustrious predecessors, Peter, Catherine, Alexander the well-beloved, and our illustrious father of imperishable memory." The negotiations at Vienna came to an end. Lord John Russell returned home, where he was accused of having been ensnared by Austrian subtleties. He sought vainly to defend himself in Parliament; he was obliged to resign and his office was filled by Sir William Molesworth.

Meantime work continued in the trenches before Sevastopol; and, on the Russian side, the fortifications of the town were continually strengthened. The heights of Inkerman were now covered by the English and French with strong field-works, so that all danger of an attack from that quarter was removed. From time to time sorties were made by the Russians, and sometimes a



heavy fire of guns was opened upon the working-parties and the outposts of the allies. Late in December, the hostile movements of the allies around Balaklava had so far intimidated the Russians as to remove all anxiety in regard to the safety of the port. The main work of the allies, however, consisted in advancing their trenches. Above ground and under it the belligerents labored, advancing their parallels, mining and countermining. January was, in a sense, the turning-point of the winter, for, although till the last of February the proportion on the sick-list constantly increased, yet the accommodations for the troops were better, the supplies had become abundant, and the roads and wharves built at Balaklava, together with a railway connecting it with the heights, abated the discomforts of the earlier season.

In February, General Niel, one of the first engineers in the French army, and especially in the confidence of the Emperor Napoleon, was sent out to the Crimea, and, under his recommendation, the French took up ground on the plateau leading to the Malakoff, where they began to work with great vigor. Upon this the Russians concentrated their energies at the same point; they pulled down the tower ruined in the attack of the 17th of October, and began the construction of that enormous redoubt which so long defied its assailants. Large works were constructed to the right and left, which the allies in vain endeavored to destroy, and the Russians took possession of a hill in front of the Malakoff, which was afterwards known as the Mamelon, and raised the nucleus of a very formidable work. All along the town-front the same system was developed. Lodgments were made in advance of the bastions, and, quite at the left of the allied position, a large cemetery was converted into a strong post. The Russian works, both inside and outside their main line, were on a colossal scale, and their forts and trenches were endless.

The command of the Russian army was now assigned to



Prince Gortschakoff, who arrived on the 21st of March, and soon proved himself a very capable soldier. A vigorous sortie was made by the Russians, but they were repulsed with heavy loss. Early in April, it was determined to bombard the town a second time, and a tremendous fire day after day, from the 9th of April to the 16th, was poured upon the devoted city, but the defences stood firm; and the allies were a second time repulsed.

At all times serious differences of opinion existed between the two commanders. Lord Raglan favored prompt and direct action; while General Canrobert, in receipt of secret instructions from his emperor, inclined to more deliberate and guarded measures, and operations more remote from the central point. This strife of contending influences did not extend to the two governments, which appeared more closely united than ever. The Emperor and Empress of the French paid a visit in London, and were received with transports of popular enthusiasm. The emperor at this time had the idea of going out himself to take command in the Crimea. An attempt at his assassination made in Paris on the 25th of April, caused him to relinquish that idea, against which his most trusted advisers had already remonstrated, while the general sentiment of the English army was strongly opposed to it. As a commander-in-chief, however, General Canrobert had not the confidence of those about him. General Pélissier, who had lately arrived from Algeria, urged an attack upon Sevastopol. The general-in-chief was wearied out; honest and brave, he felt himself, however, not strong enough for the burden which had rested on him since the death of Marshal St. Arnaud, and on the 16th of May he telegraphed to Paris begging to be relieved and to be permitted to return to his former rank of general of division. On being authorized to resign, he wrote on the 19th of May to Marshal Vaillant, minister of war: "I have to-day transferred to General Pélissier, conformably to the authorization which the em-

peror has had the goodness to grant me, the command in chief of the army of the Crimea. In the presence of difficulties incessantly recurring, which aside from my army render my task daily more heavy, it has seemed to me my imperious and first duty to commit the supreme direction to a general officer whom his age, his military antecedents, his capacity and the firmness of his mind and character recommend to the confidence of the army, while they render him better-suited than myself to surmount the inevitable difficulties arising from the juxtaposition of allied armies having each its independent chief. The army which I transfer to him has emerged from the severest and most dangerous trials, finer, more enthusiastic and more confident than before; it is an honor to France, and has been to me a source of the noblest consolation by the devotion which it has given to me up to this day. It is ready to accomplish the grandest achievements which the emperor's service and glory may require. For myself, Monsieur le Maréchal, I beg you to obtain from his Majesty the confirmation of my appointment by General Pélissier to the command of my former division (first of the 2nd Corps). I am sure that I have no need to explain and justify the feelings which give rise to this request, to the fulfilment of which I attach the greatest importance. A general-in-chief who has sustained the *morale* of his soldiers amid the severest trials, who abdicates his authority and remains with them, ought to be brought as near to them as possible."

General Canrobert obtained the gratification of his noble and modest wish. General Pélissier assumed the chief command of the army, coming to it with a reputation for courage and decision rarely fettered by scruples or hesitations; his name had all at once become conspicuous throughout all Europe by the painful resolve to which he had not long before felt himself obliged in Algeria, where, in order to save the column which he commanded he had caused a body of Arab troops, who would not surrender,

to be suffocated in the caves of Dahra. Ludlow had once done the same in Ireland. At the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor Napoleon had given orders to break up the frozen river under the feet of the Russians by firing into the ice. The progress of gentler manners had, however, made men regard with horror the rough deed of General Pélissier; he was attacked in the French Assembly, and was defended with difficulty; but Europe had not forgotten that he had been willing to assume the responsibility, heavy though it was. Great hopes, both in France and England, gathered about the new French leader. He at once took measures to free himself from the hindrances which had been thrown in the way of General Canrobert by the Emperor Napoleon's desire to direct the war from his cabinet in Paris, — writing to Marshal Vaillant: "I have already seen Lord Raglan; we are perfectly agreed in respect to the position of affairs. Like all the army, I have faith in the future. I have measured the extent of my vast duties, but in order to fulfil them successfully for any length of time, I must ask you to solicit for me from the emperor that latitude and liberty of action indispensable in the conditions of the present war, and above all necessary for the preservation of the intimate alliance of the two countries."

From this time the character of the war was changed; henceforth the siege was to be pressed with a new vigor. Vainly did the Emperor Napoleon and General Niel urge a series of exterior operations. General Pélissier paid no heed, and intrepidly pursued his own personal designs. "The march of two bodies of troops, one from Alooshta, the other from Baidon, upon Simferopol, is fraught with difficulties and uncertainties. A direct investment by securing the Mackenzie Heights would cost as dearly as an assault, and its result would be most uncertain. Lord Raglan and myself are agreed upon the capture of the advanced works, the occupation of the Tchernaya, and, finally,



an expedition to Kertch. The siege which we are carrying on has almost nothing in common with those of which Vauban has consecrated the theory. The war which we are carrying on, with a line of ships and two seaports as our base of operations, is almost equally unlike all ordinary wars. I sum up my ideas in expressing once more to you the desire that a sufficient latitude be left me for the direction of operations in whatever manner the course of events may render, in my judgment, most useful."

The attack upon Kertch proved most successful. An immense amount of shipping and stores were destroyed. The expedition made the tour of the Sea of Azof; not one place escaped them, and thus the defenders of Sevastopol were deprived of an enormous proportion of their supplies, just as preparations were making for an especially vigorous attack upon the town itself. The line of the Tchernaya was also occupied about this time by a combined force of French, Sardinians, and Turks.

General Péliissier, meanwhile, was perfectly in agreement with Lord Raglan in respect to the method of carrying on the siege. The Malakoff had now become manifestly the key to the place, and an assault on the outworks protecting it, of which the Mamelon was chief, was decided upon. The bombardment began at half-past two in the afternoon of the 6th of June, one hundred and fifty-seven pieces of ordnance being put in battery by the English, and three hundred pieces by the French. The fire continued all night and until late in the following day. Finally, at 6.45 P. M., the storming parties which had been held ready for some time, under the command of General Bosquet, received the signal and dashed upon the works. The Mamelon was taken, and from that time remained in the possession of the allies.

On the 17th, a fourth bombardment of Sevastopol was com-







FIELD-MARSHAL JOHN BURGoyNE, K.B.

Engraved by J. Bowyer.

menced, and was kept up with tremendous vigor all day, and even continued through the night. The Malakoff and the Redan were nearly silenced; but, during the night, the enemy had been able to replace the guns and was ready to begin anew. It had been originally designed to precede the assault of the 18th by a three-hours' cannonade of the heaviest description, in order to prevent the Russian troops from being gathered in masses at any point, but this plan was relinquished, and the signal for the storming-parties was given before daybreak in the morning. All night long the troops appointed for the assault were moving into their places. The trenches and the ravines were crowded with men, sitting under the parapets or lying on the ground in the ravines. Behind the Malakoff and the Redan and their connecting parapets, and in the houses of the town, the Russians were waiting the attack. The gunners were ready beside their pieces, and the war-steamers in the harbor were all prepared for instant action. The allied assault was a little confused by a mistaken signal, and commenced on the left too early. Accepting the mistake, the assault was ordered all along the line, and was made with heroic courage. At all the main points, however, it was unsuccessful. Driven back with heavy loss, the English and French retreated; many officers were killed; the English total loss amounted to about fifteen hundred, while that of the French was more than twice as heavy. Within the city the rejoicing and thanksgiving were great.

The allies were extremely disappointed, for their hopes had been very sanguine. They were not discouraged, but the check reacted upon the health of the army; the cholera, never quite subdued, at once increased with great virulence. Lord Raglan himself became ill; on the 24th of June he wrote an autograph letter to General Pélissier, reassuring the latter in respect to his health. On the 28th of June the English leader was dead. Great grief was felt in the two camps. His loyalty, his gentle-

ness, his unshaken firmness had attached all hearts to him. On the 3d of July, a double line of infantry, French and English, stood from the English headquarters to Kasatch Bay, while the coffin, resting on a platform placed upon a nine-pounder gun, drawn by eight horses, moved slowly towards the sea. The four generals-in-chief, — General Simpson (succeeding Lord Raglan), General Péliissier, General La Marmora, and Omar Pasha, on horseback, accompanied the coffin; then followed the dead soldier's favorite war-horse, and then the relatives and staff, with hundreds of officers of every grade from all the allied armies. Guns were fired at intervals, and solemn music played by military bands. At sunset the coffin was placed on board the *Caradoc*, and the mortal remains of the brave general-in-chief of the English army were borne homeward to rest in native soil.

General Simpson, as the senior officer of the army, succeeded to the command, and the home government confirmed him in that difficult post at a moment of disappointment and of increasing danger.

The harsh and domineering temper of General Péliissier had often offended his comrades, and it was at this time still more trying to his subordinates. Lord Raglan's death had taken from him a firm support. Disgrace threatened him, for his enemies found in the emperor's own mind the frequent echo of their complaints, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Marshal Vaillant was able to defend the general-in-chief and calm the dissensions. The condition of the garrison within Sevastopol was far from being understood by the besieging armies; the heroism of the defence had deceived all the world, and the Emperor Napoleon was out of patience at the length of the siege. He recurred incessantly to his own plans of operation, while all dreaded the idea of a second winter in the trenches, the Russians behind their shattered defences dreading it more than even did the allies.



General Todleben had been wounded in the bombardment of the 18th; the anxiety was intense in respect to him, for his wound appeared to grow worse. "In the army and in the marine," says the French historian before quoted, "two names above all others were honored with the gratitude of the Russians: Todleben and Nachimoff. Since the day of Todleben's injury, every morning at his bedside had been placed a fresh handful of flowers, sent by Nachimoff to his brother in arms. 'Take care of Todleben, and do not be anxious about me,' had been his constant reply to those who begged him to spare himself. 'If peace were concluded to-day, I should be ill with fever at once; it is nothing but ceaseless excitement which sustains me.' One day, the 16th of July, the flowers were not sent. The evening before, Nachimoff was standing in the Malakoff, near the spot where Korniloff fell, observing the enemy's works. Suddenly a ball buried itself near him in a sand-bag. 'They do not aim well,' he said, with a smile, to the officers who stood near him; a moment later he fell, shot through the head. He lived two days but without recovering consciousness, and when he lay dead, covered by the Empress Marie's own flag, all the sailors of the fleet defiled past him and pressed his icy hand."

The men, like the generals, perished in the besieged city; the reinforcements asked by the commander-in-chief came in slowly, scarcely keeping the numbers good. The Russian empire itself was beginning to be exhausted; transportation was growing difficult; the long distances traversed by the new levies were strewn with those who had fallen by the way; supplies became scarce, the ration was reduced one half since the first of June. The officers of the garrison besought the general-in-chief to make one desperate attempt; at St. Petersburg the same cry was in the mouths of all; but Prince Gortschakoff resisted the universal wish. On the 17th of July, he wrote to Prince Dolgorouki: "It would be simply madness to take the offensive

against an enemy superior in number and entrenched in impregnable positions. I could, doubtless, some morning make an advance; on the morrow I might drive back the enemy's outposts, and prepare a marvellous report of this military exploit; on the third day I should be defeated with a loss of ten or fifteen thousand men; and one day later, Sevastopol would be taken, together with the larger part of the army. I sincerely wish, my dear prince, that you could be convinced, as I am, that the circumspect conduct in which I persevere is really the one best suited to our present condition." But suffering and anxiety spoke louder than prudence; on the 9th of August, notwithstanding the advice of General Todleben and that of Prince Gortschakoff, an attack was determined upon in a council of war, where General Vresky, the czar's aide-de-camp, just arrived from St. Petersburg, vehemently supported this decision. "It is useless to deceive ourselves," wrote the general-in-chief on the 15th of August, "we attack the enemy under most disadvantageous conditions. If things go badly, it will not have been my fault. I have done what I could, but the situation, ever since my arrival in the Crimea, has been too bad."

Prince Gortschakoff was not deceived; the Russian movement, carried out with great courage, had been well planned, but fatal mistakes in its execution brought it to naught. The attack was upon the French and Sardinian troops, with General Scarlett's English cavalry, who were established along the Tchernaya. The Russians had commenced their sortie before midnight, on the 15th of August with a force of about sixty thousand men; they were sheltered by the fog in the early hours of the morning, and were at first successful in their attack on the French and Sardinians. But the tide of battle soon turned; the Russians were driven back across the river, and routed with very heavy loss. The Russian loss was estimated at fifteen thousand men, while that of the allies fell below two thousand.

The fate of Sevastopol may be said to have been determined by the battle of the Tchernaya. Closer and closer the lines of the besiegers were drawn around the place, until in front of the Flagstaff and Central bastions the trenches were but a few yards distant from the Russian works. From the 17th of August the city was cannonaded day and night incessantly. On the other hand, the Russians, who had already one bridge over the harbor, were beginning another; within the city they were throwing up a new interior line of defences, and from the battered earth-works the guns thundered as ever, and a bright and heavy fire of musketry from the parapets showed the courage and devotion of the garrison.

The allied forces before the town now amounted — exclusive of the Turks — to about one hundred and fifty thousand men; they had in battery eight hundred and three guns. The final bombardment of the town — that described by Gortschakoff as a “fire of hell” — began at daybreak, on the 5th of September. Over two hundred guns and mortars were brought to bear upon the Malakoff, and it was almost immediately silenced, but the Redan and the other principal batteries continued to fire all day long. Sometimes the fire of the allies would slacken a little, and then be renewed with redoubled fury. When night came it did not put a stop to this hurricane of fire and iron which beat upon the devoted town. For two days and two nights longer this bombardment continued, while a steady fire of musketry was directed upon the parapets from the advanced trenches. And now the assault was announced for noon of the 8th. That hour had been selected because it had been the custom, on both sides, during the hot weather, to slacken fire for two or three hours in the heat of the day, and it was believed the enemy would be deceived into the supposition that this was merely the usual respite; and such proved to be the case.

On the 8th of September the grand assault was made. The



1st Zouaves and the 7th of the line led the French attack. Leaping over the trenches, they ran forward, dashed into the great moat six yards deep and seven wide, scaled the steep slope of the opposing bank, and, climbing over the parapet and through the embrasures, crowded into the Malakoff redoubt. Inch by inch, the Russians gave way. New masses of French troops were poured in, until at least ten thousand men were collected within the great work, three hundred and fifty meters long and one hundred and forty-six wide. A great French flag was raised above the broken walls, signal to all the allied armies that the Malakoff was taken. The attack upon the Little Redan, a redoubt further to the right, was made with equal gallantry, but proved unsuccessful, the heavy guns in the second line of defence, with the guns of the Russian ships-of-war, forcing the assailants back at last with heavy loss.

The English attack was destined to bear upon the Great Redan, but to reach it the storming-parties had to cross an open space of one hundred and eighty meters, swept by the guns of the Redan and of the Barrack batteries. Moreover, they could not hope to surprise the garrison, for the French flag was already flying above the Malakoff at the moment fixed for the English advance. The attack was made bravely, but was repulsed, and General Simpson was compelled to withdraw his troops, promising a new effort in the morning.

The morrow came, but there were no longer enemies to be attacked. At four in the afternoon of the previous day Prince Gortschakoff, satisfying himself by a personal inspection that there was no chance to recover the Malakoff, had decided upon a retreat. As soon as it was dark, riflemen and artillerymen were placed in all the works left to the Russians with orders to keep up a steady fire. Behind them some battalions were posted as reserves, and all the rest of the troops were to march over the bridge to the north side. This being accomplished, the reserves







CAPTURE OF THE MALAKOFF.

were to follow ; then the rear guard was to spike their guns, fire the magazines and effect their retreat. These orders were carried out punctually, but so great a commotion could not entirely escape the notice of the allies. It had been detected from the Malakoff, from Mount Inkerman, and from the allied fleet. Before midnight the French had reconnoitred the Little Redan, and Sir Colin Campbell of the Highland Divisions posted for the attack of the Great Redan, had ascertained that this redoubt was also abandoned. But an anxiety in relation to mines kept back the allies from an advance, and their prudence saved them. Very soon explosions were heard in every direction within the town, and fires broke out. About four o'clock in the morning the magazines of the Redan and the batteries near it blew up with tremendous noise. Not less than thirty-five magazines exploded from the forts and bastions, adding to the general wreck of the town. Most of the ships had been scuttled ; two were burned where they lay. A thick smoke hung like a canopy above the town.

“ It is not Sevastopol that we abandon to them,” wrote Prince Gortschakoff, “ but the burning ruins of the city, which we ourselves have destroyed, having maintained the defence in a manner which our grandchildren will be proud to tell of to their posterity.” It was with the greatest hesitation, and with endless precautions, that the allied armies ventured to take possession of the mutilated corpse of their conquest. For many months fires yet smouldered at certain points, and as late as the 10th of November the Quarantine sea-fort was blown up by the explosion of one of the garrison's mines. The last farewell of the Russians, on the afternoon of the 9th, had been the explosion of Fort Paul. Fort Nicholas alone, of all the forts on the south side, escaped destruction. On the 11th the Russians from the north side burned their last ships in the Great Harbor. Of the great Black Sea fleet, there were left only stumps of masts float-



ing on the water, or smoking pieces of timber which the waves bore on shore, and the allied soldiers picked up to feed their camp-fires.

At the commencement of the war, when the allies laid siege to Sevastopol, the statesmen of Europe had been very careful to say that the taking of the city would not put an end to hostile operations, or bring about the defeat of Russia. In the month of September, 1855, after the long phases of the siege, and the unheard-of obstinacy of the defence, the fall of Sevastopol represented the complete and final victory of the allies. All Europe felt this; and notwithstanding the resolute attitude of the Czar Alexander, who went himself to the Crimea to visit the brave defenders of Sevastopol, Russia felt it also. An unfruitful attempt upon Eupatoria, the little encounter at Khanghill, and the loss of Kinburn, a Russian fort at the mouth of the Dnieper, completely proved the exhaustion of the Russian army. The defence of Kars, a city of Asiatic Turkey, by Colonel Williams, an English officer in command of a Turkish garrison, had attracted the attention of all Europe, lasting from the early part of June till late in November. Its fall, which circumstances rendered inevitable, gave to the czar that show of a success which, even though of small value, is precious to brave hearts sadly relinquishing their efforts at resistance.

Fresh troops had been sent out to Crimea, making for the allies a total of over two hundred thousand men, of which nearly three-fourths were French, and there was some idea of another campaign to complete the conquest of the Crimea. Meanwhile, a complete demolition went on of what remained of the forts, docks, and barracks of Sevastopol, both the north and south sides. The destruction of the docks was a work of vast labor and difficulty, requiring almost as much skill as had been bestowed upon their construction. With this ended the military operations of the war.







FORTRESS OF KARS.

For some weeks Austria had busied herself once more with negotiations in the interests of peace. Russia was at last ready to yield; France was weary of a war, glorious indeed, but practically unuseful to herself; England had gained the most by the war, and the English nation would not have consented to any terms but those specially to her advantage. When the congress, which opened at Paris on the 25th of February, adjourned (April 16th), those who in the English Parliament had advocated a prolongation of the war, found themselves reduced to silence. At the opening of the session, Lord Palmerston had expressed the opinion that the future chances of the war were in England's favor. "No doubt," he said, "the resources of the country are unimpaired. No doubt the naval and military preparations which have been making during the past twelve months, which are now going on, and which will be completed in the spring, will place this country in a position, as regards the continuance of hostilities, in which it has not stood since the commencement of the war. We should, therefore, be justified in expecting that another campaign—should another campaign be forced upon us—would result in successes which might, perhaps, entitle us to require,—might, perhaps, enable us to obtain even better conditions than those which have been offered to us and have been accepted by us. But if the conditions which we now hope to obtain are such as will properly satisfy the objects for which we have been contending—if they are conditions which we think it is our duty to accept, and with which we believe the country will be satisfied, then, undoubtedly, we should be wanting in our duty, and should not justify the confidence which the country has reposed in us, if we rejected terms of that description, merely for the chance of greater successes in another campaign." Lord Clarendon and Lord Cowley represented the interests of England at the Congress of Paris; in concert with the plenipotentiaries of France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Turkey,

and Piedmont, they decided upon the conditions under which peace should be re-established in Europe.

The exchange of conquered places; a recognition of the dignity and independence of Turkey; the "neutralization" of the Black Sea henceforth to the commerce of all nations, and its interdiction to the ships of war of all with the exception of a few light vessels belonging to the different nations as a kind of maritime police, and the prohibition of any military or maritime arsenal on the shores of that sea; the free navigation of the Danube, and a rectification of the frontier of Bessarabia to the advantage of Moldavia; certain regulations concerning the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; finally, a guarantee to the Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, under the suzerainty of the sultan, of the immunities and privileges now enjoyed by them, no separate right of intervention in their affairs being claimed by any one of the contracting Powers: these were the main points of the treaty signed at Paris, March 30th. Meantime (February 21st), a firman had been issued by the sultan, granting, as a free concession, the right to hold and exercise all creeds in the Ottoman States, making all subjects of the Ottoman Empire eligible to public office, and instituting other important reforms. A special tripartite treaty was later agreed to for the protection of the Ottoman Empire. This was signed on the 15th of April, and the last days of the convention were occupied in regulating the right of search, and other rules of maritime war.

Thus ended the Crimean war. It had cost England about twenty-four thousand men, and fifty-three million pounds sterling; the French loss was about eighty thousand men. The Russian loss cannot be estimated with exactness; from three to five hundred thousand men are believed to have perished on the field of battle, in hospitals, and along the roads. Sufferings such as these surely outweigh the advantages definitely attained. The Russian fleet had been destroyed, and the road to the East



made more secure for English commerce. At the same time, England had prolonged the existence of the Ottoman Empire.

“The war may perhaps secure peace in the east of Europe for the next twenty-five years,” Lord Aberdeen said. The practical gain from the war belonged, in the end, to England, notwithstanding her disappointments and failures, while the military glory fell to the share of France, intoxicated too often with successes in which are lacking the elements of real and lasting advantage.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE INDIAN MUTINY.

THE important advantages which she alone had derived from the Crimean war did not console England for the feeling of humiliation which weighed upon her. Her army's exploits had been glorious; the indomitable courage of her soldiers had been conspicuous in every engagement; the nation's strength and her liberality had been displayed before the eyes of Europe in all the phases of the struggle, but the broad daylight of free speech and a free press had revealed the faults of generals as well as the courage of the troops, the incapacity of the administration as well as the wealth of the country, which had, in the end, supplied all deficiencies, so that at the close of the war the English soldiers were better fed and better cared for than those of England's allies. The national pride still suffered keenly from those early failures in management which had revealed to England and to the entire world how serious was the disorganization into which the army of Great Britain had fallen during the long years of peace; the national pride was wounded by the last military episode of the war, terminating, as it did, immediately after a disaster suffered by the English troops. This jealous susceptibility soon showed itself in the dissensions which broke out at the close of the year 1856 between England and China, and it weighed heavily in the political balance of the home government.

A little boat—a lorch, to use the local designation—had taken the name, the “Arrow,” and sailed under the English flag.



SCENE IN A CHINESE HARBOR.

F. GRANDSIRE





Her crew was composed of Chinese, who occupied themselves in piracy. She was boarded in the river Canton by Chinese officers, and most of her sailors were arrested. The owners of the lorcha maintained that she was registered as an English vessel, and the English consul at Canton demanded that the sailors should be set at liberty. The Chinese governor, Yeh, formally refused. The registration of the "Arrow" had expired a few days before, and, in respect to the flag, the Chinese governor argued in this way: "A Chinese lorcha buys an English flag," he said; "does that make her an English vessel?" Upon this the English consul appealed to Sir John Bowring, the English plenipotentiary at Hong Kong, and the latter, with decision, supported the demand of the consul and the pirates' claims: "It is no matter whether the lorcha 'Arrow' had the right to fly the English flag or not; the Chinese government had not the right to board a vessel protected by the colors of Great Britain." Notwithstanding this haughty declaration, the Chinese authorities still declined to give up the prisoners, and Sir John Bowring ordered the bombardment of Canton by the English fleet. Upon this, Commissioner Yeh offered a reward for the head of every Englishman. From the 23d of October to the 13th of November the town was besieged; the suburbs were destroyed, the forts reduced, and many Chinese war vessels captured. The English plenipotentiary was believed to have been actuated by a childish desire to make a formal entry into Canton.

Upon the opening of the session of Parliament in February, 1857, the royal speech announced that war had existed for several months between Great Britain and China. Her Majesty informed the country that the insults offered to the British flag, and the infractions of treaties by the local authorities at Canton, had obliged her officers in China to have recourse to force in order to obtain the satisfaction which was refused them. On the 24th of February, Lord Derby brought forward in the

House of Lords a motion condemning the conduct of Sir John Bowring, and, two days later, Mr. Cobden moved in the House of Commons that "the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton," and also asked for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the commercial relations of Great Britain with China. The aged Lord Lyndhurst condemned the violence which had been employed towards the Chinese, with all the weight of his eloquence and great legal attainments. "When we are talking of treaty transactions with Eastern nations," he said, "we have a kind of loose law and loose notion of morality in regard to them." In the House of Commons Mr. Cobden's motion was supported by men of all parties, convinced of the injustice of the proceedings and the principles that had been applied to the Chinese. The vote of censure in the House of Lords failed by a minority of thirty-six; the measure proposed in the House of Commons was carried by two hundred and sixty-three votes against two hundred and forty-seven.

Mr. Disraeli challenged the government to appeal to the country. "I should like," he exclaimed, "to see the programme of the proud leaders of the liberal party, — no reform, new taxes, Canton blazing, Peking invaded." Lord Palmerston took at his words the bold spokesman of the Tories. He announced a dissolution, and his appeal to the electors of Tiverton proved that he well understood the temper of the English mind. The national excitability, smouldering since the Crimean war, blazed up at the prime minister's voice, against the "insolent barbarian," who had "violated the British flag, broken the engagements of treaties, offered rewards for the heads of British subjects and planned their destruction by murder, assassination and poison." This was enough for the voters, in vain did the advocates of peace maintain that the Chinese were not



PAGODA, BOMBAY.







barbarians, that their logic was older than Aristotle's, and their moral code antedated that of Socrates. Lord Palmerston declared that the measures taken by the government had been censured by a faction which, if it were to come into power, would make advances to the Chinese government and offer it compensations. "Will the British nation," he asked "give their support to men who have thus endeavored to make the humiliation and degradation of their country the stepping-stone to power?" The electors responded with enthusiasm to the premier's adroit appeal; his adversaries were defeated in their very strongholds. The supporters of peace at any price, as they were called, Messrs. Cobden, Bright, Milner, Gibson, Layard, and others, were not re-elected. The authority of Lord Palmerston emerged from the conflict consolidated and strengthened. The queen's speech on the opening of Parliament announced that her Majesty had sent to China a plenipotentiary fully entrusted to deal with all matters of difference, and that he would be supported by an adequate military and naval force in the event of such assistance becoming necessary. At this very time English troops were fighting in Cabul, in the cause of their old enemy Dost Mohammed, aiding him to repulse the Shah of Persia, who had seized upon Herat in defiance of existing treaties. An expedition commanded by Sir James Outram had set out from Bombay for the Persian Gulf. The campaign proved successful; the Shah of Persia withdrew from Afghanistan and abandoned his claims to Herat. In March, 1857, peace was concluded between England and Persia.

The haughty attitude of England, and her promptness to intervene in oriental quarrels, caused a secret feeling in the depths of the little native courts all through the regions of India which were under English supremacy. At the moment when England had been victorious over Persia, and was making ready

to coerce the Chinese, a terrible revolt, whose germs were as remote as its outburst was violent and unlooked-for, broke out suddenly at many different points throughout British India. A few days after the celebration in London of the hundredth anniversary of the battle of Plassey, the news of the mutiny arrived there. For six weeks India had been in a blaze, and English rule had been shaken to its foundations; Mahomedans and Buddhists, former conquerors or native population, all who had been subjected to the yoke of the white race, were in arms against it, and labored for its destruction.

The immediate pretexts seemed trivial, and easy to have been avoided by the English rulers of India. It had been determined to arm the Sepoys with the Enfield rifle, and it was said that the cartridges employed with this weapon were greased with a mixture of bullock's fat and hog's lard. It was usual at that time to bite off the end of the cartridge in order to pour out the powder. To taste hog's lard was an abomination to the Mahomedan; to taste the grease of their sacred animal was a profanation to the Hindoo; the former believed themselves defiled, the latter would at once and forever lose caste; both protested against the use of the English cartridges. The Indian government were conscious of their danger, and a proclamation at once denied the wide-spread report of the fatal mixture used upon the cartridges. The use of them was discontinued by order, in January, 1857. Still the rumor spread among the Sepoys that designs fatal to their religion were cherished in high quarters. Manifestations of a mutinous spirit appeared here and there, and several native regiments were actually disbanded.

The half-concealed anxiety of the native troops in respect to some attack upon their religion was not the only thing cast into the scale against British rule; a vast network of secret intrigues, independent one of another, yet all directed against the British government of India, spread through the courts of the various

princes who had been successively dispossessed. Ten years before the breaking out of the revolt, a new governor-general, Lord Dalhousie, had been sent out to India. His great ability was already well known in England, and he had been a member of Sir Robert Peel's cabinet. His administration transformed the face of India. He introduced there the system of cheap postage; he constructed railways, established the electric telegraph, began great works of irrigation, opened new roads, and began the Ganges Canal. The question of schools attracted his attention, and he instituted a new system for the education of women, a matter so difficult to deal with in the East. The crime of infanticide became rare under the severe legislation with which he punished it. The murderous association of Thugs was broken up, and the practice of the Suttee was absolutely prohibited. In spite of their manifest advantages, so many reforms could not but wound the native population, whose interests Lord Dalhousie thus promoted against their will. His activity did not stop there, however. During the nine years of his government he subjugated the Punjaub, incorporated part of the Burmese territory, and annexed Nagpore, Sattara, Jhansi, Berar, and Oudh. "We are lords-paramount of India," he said, "and our policy is to acquire as direct a dominion over the territories in possession of the native princes as we already hold over the other half of India." Pretexts were not wanting for an application of this policy. The native rulers of the Punjaub had caused, or, at least, permitted the massacre of some English officers. Lord Dalhousie at once invaded their territory. The "Land of the Five Rivers" was peopled by Mussulmans, Hindoos, and Sikhs, the latter a new sect of reformed Hindoos. The Afghans lent their aid to their neighbors. Lord Gough, in command of the English troops, ventured an attack against an overwhelming force, and was repulsed in the battle of Chillianwallah (January 13, 1849). This disaster was soon repaired by the signal



victory of Guzerat. The Sikhs were crushed, the Afghans driven back, and Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjaub. The Maharajah of Lahore offered in sign of submission the famous diamond the Koh-i-Noor, now one of the crown jewels of England.

The kingdom of Oudh had long been under the protection of the East India Company. The terms of the treaty imposed upon the native princes the duty of governing well the population submitted to their rule. The sovereigns of Oudh failed signally in keeping this engagement; their misgovernment was extreme, and its effects were felt by the neighboring nations, frequently molested by bandits in the service of the King of Oudh. Notwithstanding, these neighboring people were far from grateful when Lord Dalhousie seized upon the territory of Oudh in the name of outraged justice and humanity, and submitted the entire region to the regular and equitable rule of the British government; everywhere existed the same feeling brooding beneath the heavy yoke, now less odious because so firmly established.

The discontent spreading among the Sepoy troops, the far-off rumor, strangely exaggerated, of English disasters in the Crimea, the uneasiness caused by the wars in Persia and China, served, in 1857, the bitter hate and long-cherished rancor of the Indian princes. The leaven of revolt was beginning to work in the hearts of all. All subsequent inquiries have not been able to establish the fact of a determined and general plan; however, a concerted signal seems to have excited a simultaneous outbreak at many different points. This was the mysterious distribution of *chupatties*, or cakes of unleavened bread, through the villages of the north and north-west. Two of these would be brought by a native policeman to the head man of a village, with orders to make ten more, and give them in turn to the policemen of the five next villages. Like the fiery cross of Scotland, calling out the population more rapidly than the regular







MAUSOLEUM AT LAHORE.

orders of the best organized government could do it, these *chupatties* conveyed a mysterious intimation to be ready for some momentous event at hand. Nowhere in the villages still under the control of the Indian princes were these cakes distributed. It was against British rule that the population was thus called to revolt. The propitious moment for the outbreak appeared to be early in the year 1857, shortly after Lord Canning had succeeded Lord Dalhousie, and it was in February of that year that the signal above described was given.

The outbreak of the revolt was local, and manifested itself among the native troops who had been for more than a century employed by the East India Company under the name of Sepoys. Many times, in their various wars with the Hindoo princes, the English had tested the fidelity of the native regiments. The number of native soldiers in the employment of England throughout northern India at that time amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand, and the European soldiers to about twenty-two thousand. In the whole extent of the three presidencies were nearly three hundred thousand native troops, and only forty-three thousand Europeans in all, of whom five thousand had just been detached for the expedition to Persia, and others had also been ordered for service in China.

The native soldiers in the presidency of Bengal had been since the beginning of the year in more or less open mutiny. Some regiments had been disbanded, some Sepoys executed and others imprisoned. On the 9th of May, several of the Bengal Native Cavalry at Meerut, who had been tried by court-martial for refusing to use the cartridges, were put in chains in presence of their comrades, preparatory to imprisonment for a term of years. On the following day, May 10, at five in the evening, all the native troops encamped at Meerut broke out into open mutiny. They fired upon their officers, killing some of them, broke open the jail, released their comrades and with

them fourteen hundred convicts, and massacred some European residents. The English troops rallied, and repulsed the Sepoys, but the latter made their escape and took the road to Delhi, thirty-five miles away. There in a vast and fortified palace, a very lair of Oriental corruption and conspiracy, still dwelt the old King of Delhi, dispossessed of his sovereign authority, it is true, but richly endowed with pensions and privileges, the last representative of the Great Mogul. The revolted Sepoys of Meerut had conceived the idea of taking refuge with this prince, important as a symbol of the past dominion of his race. They were allowed to escape without being pursued, and at nine o'clock on the morning of the 11th, their advanced troops were seen approaching Delhi. They crowded into the palace, claimed the king's protection and promised him theirs, and planted his standard upon the walls. An attack was at once made upon all the white residents of the town, and a frightful scene of carnage followed. The English rallied and defended themselves with the courage of despair, but the Sepoy regiments in and near the town united with the mutineers. A few English officers finally made their escape; forty-three persons, chiefly women and children, remained, who had taken refuge in the palace under the idea that the king would protect them, but on the 18th these were deliberately massacred.

The blaze broke out in all quarters simultaneously. The Punjab seemed particularly endangered, for it had been but recently annexed after a violent struggle. Sir John Lawrence, the governor, was, however, a man of distinguished ability, as reasonable and moderate as he was able and brave. The population had been well governed and they knew it. Sir John Lawrence was absent from Lahore at the moment when news was received by telegraph of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi, — the last message sent from Delhi before the city fell into the





PALACE AND PARK OF THE GRAND MOGUL.



hands of the mutineers. On the 12th a plot was discovered to seize the fortress in Lahore and massacre every white man. Mr. Robert Montgomery, judicial commissioner at Lahore, who had full authority in the governor's absence, gathering the English troops, ordered a parade of all the regiments, and just when the Sepoys were brought by their evolutions in front of twelve loaded cannon, ordered them to pile arms. They obeyed, and the Punjaub was saved. Similar action was taken at other points in the Lower Punjaub, and the province, remaining faithful to English rule, became a base for military and administrative operations which made it possible to stifle the rebellion and re-establish the authority of the English government.

Lord Canning, the governor-general, was happily endowed with a calm, firm courage, and a generous equity capable of resisting the pressure of his own anxiety and the panic-terrors which at this time agitated all the English population of India. Anger, indignation, and alarm had invaded even the bravest souls, and rumor outran reality in its tales of terror. Calcutta was in a frenzy against the rebel Sepoys, and almost against her own governor, because he did not share in the frantic excitement of the hour. "Clemency Canning," he was called, with an irony converting the praise into an insult. Lord Canning's sympathy for the Sepoys was well known; he had regarded them as the ignorant victims of an error not entirely contemptible, which it was necessary to correct without resorting to violence. When the insurrection broke out, Lord Canning displayed the most indefatigable activity, and the most indomitable resolution to remedy a terrible evil without at any time aggravating it by unwholesome irritation and reprisals unworthy of a Christian country and a Christian faith. Seconded in his difficult task by his noble wife, who shared all his fatigues and all his anxieties, he was destined, with her, to sink under the burden after having courageously borne it to the end. Lady Canning died without



seeing England again; Lord Canning, a solitary and broken man, returned home only to die.

When the news of the victorious insurrection at Delhi reached General Anson, the commander-in-chief of the army in India, he was at Simla, among the Himalayas. Orders were at once sent to assemble regiments and artillery to march upon Delhi. More than two weeks, however, elapsed before they were near the city. As soon as he received news of what had occurred at Delhi, Lord Canning dispatched orders to Ceylon, Madras and Mauritius for reinforcements, countermanded the regiments bound for China, and ordered the army from Persia to come to Calcutta. On the 23d of May, the Madras Fusiliers were dispatched towards the scene of war. It was useless to count upon succor from England. Before reinforcements from home could arrive, either India would have saved herself, or else it would remain for the English government to reconquer a country all in arms against her, and intoxicated with success. Extreme personal anxieties excited the ardor of the English troops, for the insurrection was spreading in every direction. All the stations were menaced; the officers and soldiers knew that their own families were in imminent and terrible danger. General Anson, on the road to Delhi, had suddenly died, and Sir Henry Barnard took command. Meanwhile, from all points in the north-west, regiments of revolted Sepoys arrived at Delhi, coming to the defence of their commander and the new emperor of India. Everywhere the mask of submission was quickly thrown off, and hidden passions, excited almost to madness, broke out with a violence and spontaneity which left the little English garrisons no resource but a desperate resistance, ending often in a horrible massacre.

It would be impossible to describe in detail all the isolated tragedies which made the English authorities and residents at Calcutta shudder with horror. The headquarters of the mutiny





VIEW IN THE HIMALAYAS.



was at Delhi; at three other important points the revolt broke out with great intensity, and gave rise to unheard-of treachery as well as to the most heroic resistance. At Lucknow, at Cawnpore, and at Jhansi, the influence and efforts of the Indian princes were clearly manifested, directing the fanatical frenzy of the native soldiers. The revolt of the Sepoys became the terrible instrument of royal revenge.

The city of Lucknow, capital of the former kingdom of Oudh, stands upon the right bank of the river Goomty. Its population, said to number three hundred thousand, is crowded in narrow and winding streets; the royal palace stood empty, the former king and his family having been transferred to a residence in the neighborhood of Calcutta. Around the deserted palace were the dwellings of the old courtiers, now deprived of their importance and almost of their means of existence, and regarding with savage hatred the conquerors who had thus reduced them to insignificance. The extreme of corruption prevailed among this colony of parasites, and extended thence into the city. There were about five hundred English soldiers in the city, while the native force amounted to five thousand men. From the beginning of the month, symptoms of revolt had manifested themselves in a regiment of Sepoys, but Sir Henry Lawrence, the noble brother of him who had so bravely secured the Punjaub, had immediately disbanded them, subduing the revolt for the moment by the firmness of his attitude, the leaders of the mutiny being thrown into prison by the hands of their own comrades. The majority of the native troops appeared loyal, but the leaven was already at work; the mutineers were secretly regarded as martyrs. On the 30th of May, the revolt broke out. Sir Henry Lawrence endeavored to drive out the rebels, but their number was too great; malcontents in the town joined with the mutineers. The governor found that his only resource was to fall back upon the Residency and the houses surrounding it, a vast



fortified enclosure containing several buildings, many of them having large underground rooms. Here he made preparations to sustain a siege. A strong fort, known as the Muchee Bhowun, commanding the bridge over the river was also occupied by the English; and all the English population, the soldiers' families, the civilians and merchants in the town, were gathered in these two places of safety. Meantime the whole kingdom of Oudh was in a state of revolt, and a force of mutineers were known to be advancing upon Lucknow. Sir Henry Lawrence, with a small force of English and a few native troops who yet remained faithful, sallied out to attack them. An engagement ensued, disastrous to the English, who retreated, and were pursued back to the town. The Muchee Bhowun was separated from the Residency by a force of rebels, and by night the garrison of the fort made their way out of it and joined their companions, having laid mines beneath the Muchee Bhowun, which was blown up, destroying the powder and ammunition which the garrison had not been able to remove.

On the 2d of July, Sir Henry Lawrence, exhausted with fatigue, lay upon the sofa in his room, preparing the morrow's work with his nephew and another officer. Suddenly a shell burst in the room, filling it with smoke and murderous fragments of metal. "Sir Henry, are you hurt?" cried one of the officers, who had been knocked down by the explosion but was uninjured. There was a moment's silence, and then a voice faintly answered, "I am killed." The shell had wounded him so fearfully in the thigh, that there was no possibility of doing anything to save him. He died two days later, brave and calm in the midst of extreme suffering, winning more than ever at this last moment of his life the hearts of those who had been already devotedly attached to him. "Never surrender!" he repeated to those around him; and he desired that there should be engraved upon his tomb: "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who



tried to do his duty. . . . Be merciful unto me, O Lord!"

Decimated by disease and casualties, and sorely afflicted by the loss of their brave and able chief, the little garrison at Lucknow still held its ground, the women equalling in courage the most heroic soldiers. Lord Canning was vigilant and prompt in devising measures for their relief. On the 20th of June, General Havelock, just returned from Persia, had been placed in command of the moveable column destined to operate in the kingdom of Oudh. Havelock was as brave as a lion, and one of those Puritans, devotedly religious in heart and life, who have at various epochs been an honor to the English army. A considerable number of his soldiers shared the religious convictions of their leader, — "Havelock's Saints" they were called in the army. Always ready to endure fatigue and to brave danger, the general and his subordinates derived from their faith a courage never soiled by any of those cruel passions too often excited at this fearful crisis. General Havelock cherished no illusions in respect to the task he undertook. On the 3d of July he wrote to his wife: "Mutiny and treachery have been gaining ground every day since I last wrote, and you must expect to hear of great calamities. Lawrence still holds Lucknow triumphantly, but has great odds against him. It is believed that the force at Cawnpore has been entirely destroyed by treachery, having been unfortunately seduced into a treaty by its foes. I march to-morrow to endeavor to retake Cawnpore, and rescue Lucknow."

When General Havelock set out from Allahabad on the 7th of July, Sir Henry Lawrence was no longer living, and the tragedy of Cawnpore was drawing to its close. The little English army, about a thousand men with six guns, set out upon its avenging and succoring mission, at every step hampered on its march by attacks from the rebels scattered throughout the

country. Dispatched for the relief of Lucknow, General Havelock learned on his route the fate of the Cawnpore garrison, and perceived that it would be his duty first to recover Cawnpore, and then to march to the relief of Lucknow.

The military station of Cawnpore, midway between Lucknow and Allahabad, was, by its position, one of great importance, and had attracted many merchants and traders, who, with the civil and military servants of the East India Company, formed a considerable European community. It is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, at a point where that river, in the dry season, has a width of a quarter of a mile, — swelled, in the rains, to more than a mile. The city commands the bridge and high road leading to Lucknow, about forty miles away. There were three native regiments of infantry and one of cavalry in Cawnpore. There were also about sixty English artillery-men, and six guns. There were at Cawnpore the wives and children of one of the English regiments which was itself at Lucknow, and there were also the families of the English residents to be protected. Sir Hugh Wheeler, in command at Cawnpore, was an old veteran of more than fifty years' experience, and a good and brave soldier.

On the 20th of May, Sir Hugh Wheeler began to make preparations for defence, and collect the women and children under shelter. On the 21st, a company arrived from Lucknow, sent by Sir Henry Lawrence, and a week later one hundred and sixty English troops arrived with news that others were on the way. There were now in the garrison about four hundred and fifty men in all, and over three hundred women and children. On the 6th of June, the native cavalry revolted, and was shortly joined by the other regiments, and the siege commenced.

A cruel and unscrupulous Hindoo, a man who had been believed a friend of the English, was the leader of the mutineers. Nana Sahib, whose real name was Seerek Dhoondoo Punt, lived at Bithoor, a little town twelve miles up the river from Cawn-







MAHRATTA PROCESSION.



pore. He was the adopted son of Bajee Rao, Peishwah of Poonah, the last representative of one of the great Mahratta dynasties. This prince had been dethroned in consequence of his treachery towards the English, but he was in receipt of a large pension from the East India Company, and had been assigned a residence at Bithoor. Among the Hindoos it is held a great misfortune to die without sons who will render the last services to the dying, and perform the rites held to be indispensable for the safety of the soul, and adopted children fulfil the same duties and possess the same rights as the natural heirs. Upon the death of Bajee Rao, in 1851, Nana Sahib claimed the continuance of his pension; Lord Dalhousie refused it. The Nana was not discouraged; he sent a confidential agent to London, Azimoolah Khan, a person who had been a servant in an Anglo-Indian family, and had thus added some knowledge of the English language and of English manners to the natural subtlety of his race.

The emissary of the Hindoo prince was well received in English society. He was handsome, clever and insinuating; he was overwhelmed with civilities of every kind, and his personal vanity was flattered to the most inordinate degree. He was in London during the time when the Crimean war was causing a clamorous discontent, and he imagined that he could detect grave anxieties and a serious diminution of English power. On his return by way of Constantinople in the winter of 1855, he was confirmed in these ideas; arriving in India, unsuccessful in his errand, he, however, entertained the Nana with an account of the decline of English power, and nourished in the mind of his master the hope of revenge. Nana Sahib had been allowed to succeed to all the personal possessions of his adoptive father, and he surrounded himself with all the luxury of Oriental life, attracting Europeans about him and lavishing upon them flatteries and attentions. The English residents of the neighbor-

hood of Bithoor were frequent guests at his palace. Now, upon the approach of danger, Sir Hugh Wheeler believed him faithful to the English government, and called upon him for assistance. Nana Sahib at once promised fifteen hundred men, and led them himself to Cawnpore. From the day when he entered the city, the destruction of the English was sure.

The place selected for defence by Sir Hugh Wheeler was unfortunate. It was an old military hospital, consisting of two low buildings large enough to accommodate one company of soldiers. A mud wall had been made by digging a trench and throwing the earth outwards, thus forming a shelter about five feet high. The space enclosed was about two hundred and thirty meters square. A few guns were placed in position, and there were large quantities of muskets and ammunition. Within the barracks were lodged the women and children, while the men fought outside.

Outside of the hospital, in the city and in the suburbs, Nana Sahib reigned as master. He very soon abandoned all pretence; it was a mortal enemy, bloodthirsty and cruel, whom the English general had introduced into the place. On all sides the rebels hailed him as their leader, while all the robbers and scoundrels in the province flocked around their fitting chief.

A summons to yield had been addressed to Sir Hugh Wheeler on the 10th of June, by the Nana, who had now relinquished his first design of leading the mutineers to Delhi to swell the triumph of the new emperor of India. The lure of ambition had added itself to the desire of revenge, and stimulated by those around him and especially by Azimoolah Khan, he now proposed to establish an independent sovereignty upon the ruins of the English dominion. It was, therefore, in this character that he summoned Sir Hugh to surrender, and on refusal, opened fire upon the devoted garrison. From this time, night and day for twenty days, the firing continued. In a few days

the original force of mutineers had increased until over ten thousand armed men were collected in Cawnpore.

Meanwhile the greatest distress prevailed in the beleaguered garrison, who were exposed, almost without protection, to the burning rays of an Indian sun in midsummer. Once or twice muskets exploded from the mere heat. A single well within the enclosure supplied water, but it was entirely out of shelter, and men who went to draw water did so at the peril of their lives. The sight of a man going to the well was a signal for the assailants to take aim ; and at night, the sound of the creaking wheels as the men drew water brought upon them a shower of musket-balls. The diet was meagre, and sickness added its ravages to the extreme distress of the situation. In the three weeks that the garrison held out, two hundred and fifty persons died. And still the indomitable courage of a handful of men held in check the murderous wretches, greedy of blood, who howled like wolves outside the enclosure.

Among the revolted Sepoys who had joined Nana Sahib were some of the best native troops in India, and, after a time, these men were again led to the assault ; again repulsed, a feeling began to spread among them that it would be impossible to subdue their formidable opponents. The munitions of the garrison were diminishing as well as their numbers, but the English wasted not a ball nor a grain of powder ; their fire was deadly. The ardor of the Sepoys began to cool, and the prestige of Nana Sahib to diminish. Then the Hindoo prince, with perfidy in his heart, offered proposals for a capitulation. The extreme exhaustion of the little garrison seconded his projects ; vainly had the English courage shone out splendidly in brilliant sorties day after day ; the force outside of men and guns could be constantly strengthened ; the situation of the garrison was desperate, and they knew it better than did their enemies. A proposal was sent to the garrison by the hands of an Englishwoman whom Nana



Sahib had captured in the town. It was addressed: "To the Subjects of her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria," and ran as follows: "All those who are in no way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, and are willing to lay down their arms, shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad." Provisions were promised for the journey, and Nana Sahib undertook to provide transportation.

The agreement was signed on the 26th of June, and the immediate execution was demanded by those acting in behalf of Nana Sahib. The English general refused; it was evening, and he preferred to wait until the next day. Nana Sahib threatened to open fire. "We have powder enough left to blow up the entrenchments and all who attack them," replied Sir Hugh Wheeler. The surrender of the little fort was postponed till the following day.

On the 27th of June, very early in the morning, the feeble garrison, which had held out so bravely, was on its march towards the river. Four hundred and fifty persons, men, women, and children, — the women and children upon elephants and in palanquins, the men, except the wounded, walking, — formed the sad procession. A sufficient number of covered boats had been provided, and at nine o'clock all were on board. At this moment the blast of a trumpet was heard. At this signal the native boatmen, setting fire to the straw roofs of the boats, leaped into the river and made for shore, while a shower of musketry and grapeshot from both sides of the river was poured upon the boats. A great slaughter ensued; only two or three of the boats were floating, the rest not having yet been pushed off, and of the former only one escaped, which, followed by bands of Sepoys, firing upon it, made its way down the river. This boat was finally sunk; and of all its passengers four only at last escaped.

When the firing had ceased, the surviving women and



children were brought ashore and taken back into the city, where they were imprisoned in an old hospital, called the Savada House. From this place they were in a few days transferred to narrower quarters, where they were kept closely confined. Disease broke out among them, and several died. The Hindoo princesses, widows of Bajee Rao, commiserated the sufferings of the English captives, and declared that they would throw themselves out of the windows if any further harm were done to the prisoners. The fearful stories of wrong and outrage which later made the blood boil in the veins of every Englishman, whether soldier or citizen, added exaggerated horrors to the cruel reality. The unfortunate women shut up in Cawnpore were destined to die, every one of them, but it was only death, and not shame, which awaited them.

Nana Sahib, meanwhile, was proclaimed Peishwah of Poonah. He visited Bithoor, and there formally assumed the sovereignty. The town was illuminated in his honor, and salvos of artillery saluted the new sovereign. But already plots were rife against him in Cawnpore; the Mussulmans were not disposed to accept the rule of a Hindoo; the population began to dread the vengeance of the English, whose approach was a matter of daily rumor, and they began to escape to the adjacent villages. The Sepoys also began to murmur, claiming their share of the plunder. The new prince returned to Cawnpore, disquieted and anxious, and striving vainly to stupefy himself by every form of excess, in his dread of the terrible anger of those who had been so long the masters of India. Notwithstanding the considerable successes of the rebellion at different points, the more clear-sighted among the Hindoos began to perceive that the English power was by no means overthrown, and would soon re-establish its empire.

General Havelock was drawing near. On the 13th of July, he wrote to his wife, after the battle of Futtehpore: "One

of the prayers oft repeated throughout my life since my school-days has been answered, and I have lived to command in a successful action. . . . I will here only say that I marched down upon this place yesterday with harassed troops, intending to attack the insurgents next day, but their fate led them on. Out they sallied and insulted my camp, whereupon I determined to try an immediate action. We fought, and I may say that in ten minutes the affair was decided, for in that short time our Enfield rifles and cannon had taken all conceit of fight out of the mutineers. Amongst them was the 56th, the very regiment which I led on at Maharajpore. I challenged them: 'There's some of you that have beheld me fighting; now try upon yourselves what you have seen in me!' But away with vain-glory! Thanks to Almighty God who gave me the victory! I captured in four hours eleven guns, and scattered the enemy's whole force to the winds. I now march to retake Cawnpore, where alas! our troops have been treacherously destroyed, and to succor Lawrence at Lucknow."

Havelock was advancing, fighting all the way, incessantly harassed by the enemy's bands, but constantly victorious in his encounters with them. On the 15th he secured a bridge which opened to him the road to Cawnpore, and had been vigorously defended by the rebels. The news of this defeat came to Nana Sahib in the night; his star was paling more and more before the reviving prestige of the English. Alarmed and exasperated, he resolved once more to manifest his vengeance upon a detested race. Four or five among the English prisoners were men; these he had called out and shot, and then a company of Sepoys were sent to the building where the women and children were imprisoned, with orders to fire through the windows; but, still dreading their former masters, or, possibly, actuated by motives of humanity, the Sepoys fired over the heads of the captives. Upon this Nana Sahib sent to the prison five men upon whom

he could rely; they entered sword in hand, and immediately shrieks began to be heard from within. Twice one of the soldiers came out with his sword broken at the hilt and supplied himself with a new weapon. After awhile, the cries were heard no longer, the men came out, and locking the door went away. In the morning they returned with some attendants; and all the victims, some of whom were apparently not quite dead, were thrown into a dry well near by. On the 17th of July, when General Havelock with his army entered Cawnpore, the horror of one look into that crowded grave was enough to excite in their minds transports of fury which scarcely their rigid Christian convictions were able to control.

During their combat before Cawnpore, the English had been sustained by the hope that they were arriving in season to deliver their countrywomen; at the moment of victory, however, they learned what had happened, and simultaneously the noise of a tremendous explosion indicated that Nana Sahib had blown up the powder magazine. The rebel prince escaped to Bithoor, and thither English vengeance pursued him; losing his adherents daily, he made no attempt to defend himself, and once more fled, setting fire to his palace. From this time he disappeared; he is believed to have taken refuge in Nepaul, but no Englishman ever saw him again.

Having made themselves masters of Cawnpore, General Havelock and his troops were eager to make their way to the relief of Lucknow, but they were surrounded with enemies on all sides. The force at his command did not exceed one thousand men in all, and even this little number was daily wasted by disease. Until the 16th of August he continued in the field, but he was then obliged to fall back upon Cawnpore and await reinforcements.

In the mean time, Sir Colin Campbell, the Crimean veteran, had been sent out to take command of the Indian army. The



appointment was made immediately after news of General Anson's death had been received in London, and, on the 13th of August, Sir Colin arrived in Calcutta. His first care was to order reinforcements under Sir James Outram to join General Havelock, but it was not until the 15th of September that these troops actually reached Cawnpore. General Outram, invested with complete civil and military authority for the province of Oudh, would naturally have superseded General Havelock on his arrival, but this the generous soldier would not consent to do. He wrote privately to Havelock: "To you shall be left the glory of relieving Lucknow, for which you have already struggled so much. I shall accompany you only in my civil capacity, placing my military service at your disposal, should you please, and serving under you as a volunteer." On his arrival he issued a divisional order as follows: "The important duty of first relieving Lucknow has been entrusted to Major-General Havelock, C. B., and Major-General Outram feels that it is due to this distinguished officer and the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honor of the achievement. Major-General Outram is confident that the great end for which General Havelock and his brave troops have so long and so gloriously fought, will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished. The major-general, therefore, in gratitude for and admiration of the brilliant deeds in arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on this occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity as chief commissioner of Oudh, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer."

It was, therefore, as a volunteer at the head of a troop of cavalry that Sir James Outram took part in the battle of Mungluwar. The rainy season had now set in, impeding the march of the relieving army and also greatly adding to the discom-



fort of the besieged in Lucknow, now every day more closely pressed by the enemy. The position fortified by the English at Lucknow was a piece of table-land crowned by the buildings of the Residency. Around these buildings were a number of other houses. A low rampart ran along the northern face of the position; the north-eastern and eastern fronts consisted of houses connected by barricades and banks of earth; on the south a battery commanded the Cawnpore road; on the west the line of fortified buildings continued, and finally an entrenchment completed the circle of defence. Within the outer line were inner posts, and at several points guns had been placed in battery. Each point had its allotted defenders, while the women and children with the sick and wounded were lodged in the underground rooms of the Residency and the other buildings. Around this position were gathered the rebel hosts, who from batteries posted near by, from adjacent houses, and from the roofs and upper stories of the lofty buildings in the eastern part of the town, kept up an incessant fire upon it. The garrison consisted in all of about seventeen hundred men, of whom over seven hundred were natives, the few faithful Sepoys of the province, who had elected to cast in their lot with their masters. The force of the assailants varied from thirty thousand to more than three times that number. In the disorderly condition of the rebel government, if such it may be called, chiefs with large bands of retainers came and went at their will, thus suddenly augmenting or suddenly reducing the besieging force. The active operations of the siege went on, however, without interruption, and the investment was so strict that until after the arrival of the relief in September, only one messenger had been able to get out of the place and return.

Besides an incessant cannonading, the enemy attacked frequently by assault, and carried on a series of mining operations which the English were constantly obliged to counter-work.

Brigadier Inglis, in command of the 32d Infantry, in a very able report gives a view of the situation. "Had it not been," he says, "for the most untiring vigilance on our part in watching and blowing up their mines before they were completed, the assaults would probably have been much more numerous, and might perhaps have ended in the capture of the place. But, by countermining in all directions, we succeeded in detecting and destroying no less than four of the enemy's subterraneous advances towards important positions. . . . The labor, however, which devolved upon us in making these countermines, in the absence of a body of skilled miners, was very heavy. . . . I can conscientiously declare my conviction that few troops have ever undergone greater hardships, exposed as they have been to a never-ending musketry fire and cannonade. They have also experienced the alternate vicissitudes of extreme wet and intense heat, and that too with very insufficient shelter from either, and in many places without any shelter at all. In addition to having to repel real attacks, they have been exposed night and day to the hardly less harassing false alarms which the enemy have been constantly raising. The insurgents have frequently fired very heavily, sounded the advance, and shouted for several hours together, though not a man could be seen, with the view, of course, of harassing our small and exhausted force, in which object they succeeded; for no post has been strong enough to allow of a portion only of the garrison being prepared, in the event of a false attack being turned into a real one. All, therefore, had to stand to their arms and remain at their posts until the demonstration had ceased; and such attacks were of almost nightly occurrence. The whole of the officers and men have been on duty night and day, during the eighty-seven days which the siege had lasted up to the arrival of Sir James Outram, G. C. B. . . . I feel that any words of mine will fail to convey any adequate idea of

what our fatigue and labors have been,—labors in which all ranks and classes, civilians, officers, and soldiers, have all borne an equally noble part. . . . Owing to the extreme paucity of our numbers, each man was taught to feel that on his own individual efforts alone depended in no small measure the safety of the entire position. This consciousness incited every officer, soldier, and man to defend the post assigned to him with such desperate tenacity, and fight for the lives which providence had entrusted to his care with such dauntless determination that the enemy, despite their constant attacks, their heavy mines, their overwhelming numbers, and their incessant fire, could never succeed in gaining one inch of ground within the bounds of this straggling position, which was so feebly fortified that, had they once obtained a footing in any of the outposts, the whole place must inevitably have fallen.

“During the early part of these vicissitudes we were left without any information whatever regarding the posture of affairs outside. We sent our messengers daily, calling for aid and asking for information, none of whom ever returned, until the twenty-sixth day of the siege, when a pensioner named Ungud came back with a letter from General Havelock’s camp, informing us that they were advancing with a force sufficient to bear down all opposition, and would be with us in five or six days. . . . The sixth day, however, expired, and they came not. We knew not then, nor did we learn till the 29th of August, thirty-five days later, that the relieving force, after having fought most nobly to effect our deliverance, had been obliged to fall back for reinforcements; and this was the last communication we received until two days before the arrival of Sir James Outram, on September 25th.”

And now, on the 23d of September, General Havelock had arrived before Lucknow. The enemy were in position at the Alumbagh, a large park containing a royal palace outside the



town. A hot encounter took place, the insurgents were routed, and General Havelock was master of the Alumbagh. The 24th was spent in devising plans of attack. It was decided to hold the park and palace as a base of operations, and thence to force a way through the palaces and large houses in the eastern part of the town up to the Residency. Before nine o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the troops moved out. Very shortly they came under fire; musketry and grape mowed their ranks, but they pressed on. Early in the afternoon they had made themselves masters of one of the palaces, and here there was a short halt and a discussion among the generals, whether to rest there for the night or complete the work and join their comrades in the Residency. General Outram was in favor of a halt; General Havelock desired to push on, and the eagerness of the soldiers was soon so manifest that the order was given to advance. The column led by the Highlanders dashed out into the streets with a loud cheer, the generals riding foremost. From the windows and roofs of the houses a rain of shot poured upon them, and the street itself had been cut by deep trenches, so that the artillery had to take another road. But the distance was short; the Highlanders and Sikhs stormed up the street, loading and firing as they advanced, and in a few minutes General Outram was dismounting at one of the long-unused gates of the Residency.

Meanwhile the garrison had for two days been aware of the approach of their deliverers. Distant firing had been heard; unusual agitation was visible in the city; finally, the same messenger, who had before served them, brought word that General Outram was at the Alumbagh. "Finally," says an officer, in his diary of the siege, "the sound of musketry was heard, and the smoke of guns distinctly perceived, within the limits of the city! Once fairly seen," continues the narrator, "all our doubts and fears regarding them were ended. And then the garrison's



pent-up feelings burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers. From every pit, trench and battery ; from behind the sand-bags piled on shattered houses ; from every post still held by a few gallant spirits, rose cheer on cheer, even from the hospital. . . . It was a moment never to be forgotten."

When the gate was opened and the soldiers entered, the scene was one of the wildest excitement. A special enthusiasm centred around the little group of women and children. The Highlanders crowded about them to grasp the ladies by the hand, and to take the children in their arms. The besieged garrison, on their part, were eagerly asking for news from outside, especially in respect to the progress that had been made in the suppression of the mutiny. For nearly four months they had been kept in ignorance of what was occurring in other parts of India, and their anxiety had, very naturally, reached the highest pitch.

It had been expected that the garrison would be at once withdrawn from Lucknow, but the danger of this movement would have been very great, and Sir James Outram decided to reinforce the post and await further succor. The garrison remained within the lines they had so long defended, while General Havelock with a strong force occupied the palaces and buildings in the eastern part of the city which the troops had seized on their path. The English remained for eight weeks longer in a state of siege in Lucknow, till, finally, Sir Colin Campbell, arriving in person, completed the work General Havelock and Sir James Outram had begun.

Meanwhile Delhi had at length surrendered, after a long and arduous siege. About the middle of May, it will be remembered, upon the defection of the Sepoy regiments, the English officers and civilians who remained alive had made their escape from the city. A month later a little army of English and faithful native troops fought their way up to the very walls of Delhi, and sat

down before the city in a siege which was destined to last three months. The position of the besiegers was strong and defensible, they were, nevertheless, harassed by incessant attacks, which they repulsed gallantly, and often themselves were, in turn, the attacking party. Reinforcements, meantime, arrived on both sides, and the siege assumed daily more and more formidable proportions. The British army, at the beginning of July, amounted to nearly seven thousand men. Their force, however was far inferior to that of the rebels, and it was only when the last reinforcements and the siege-train arrived that it was possible to assault successfully. On the 13th of September there had been made two great breaches in the walls, and on the 14th the city was stormed. The assault was successful, and at night the English army had made a lodgment in Delhi. Four-fifths of the city remained still in the hands of the enemy, and it was not until the 20th that the victory was completed, every large building or fortified post having been taken or abandoned.

The victory was saddened by the death of Brigadier-General Nicholson, one of the most brilliant and highly esteemed officers of the Indian army. He was leading an attack upon the Lahore gate of the city when he fell, shot through the chest. He died on the 23d, and was buried outside the walls of Delhi.

The old king, with three princes of his family, had taken shelter in the tomb of the Emperor Humayoun, a vast structure which, with the buildings surrounding it, formed a sort of suburb to the city. A young officer, Lieutenant Hodson, begged permission to go and capture him. Hodson had once been in a civil charge in the Punjaub, whence he had been dismissed in consequence of his severity towards an important native chief. An ambitious, brave and able man, he had eagerly sought an opportunity to make a new path to success, and on the outbreak of the mutiny had gladly accepted a commission to raise a full regiment of Irregular Cavalry. He had also been

made chief of the Intelligence Department, and he had already distinguished himself more than once by the most brilliant and daring acts. It seemed to him that the capture of the royal family of Delhi was essential to complete the English victory. Having obtained the desired permission he rode out with fifty of his troopers to the tomb. The whole place was crowded with natives, but Hodson rode boldly up, and a negotiation was opened. His life being promised him the king surrendered, and, with his favorite wife and her son, were brought in prisoners and delivered over to the English general. The old king was eventually tried, found guilty, and sentenced to transportation; and finally died five years later at Rangoon.

The next day Hodson returned to complete his work by seizing the three royal princes, who yet remained surrounded by their followers. The princes tried to obtain conditions, but this was denied them; but it seems probable that they anticipated that the same clemency which had been shown to the king would be extended also to them. They, therefore, yielded unconditionally and were taken away under escort. Then the crowd of their followers, five or six thousand in number, were ordered by Hodson to lay down their arms. They obeyed for the moment, but as the little English band made their way back towards the city with their prisoners the crowd gathered again and pressed so closely around them that Hodson and his lieutenant began to feel that the danger was becoming too great. "I think we had better shoot them here; we shall never get them in," Hodson said at last. He halted his troop, barred the road with a guard before and behind the cart in which the prisoners were; then taking a carbine from one of his men he explained who the criminals were and why they were to suffer death, and then shot them with his own hand.

Some days before this Hodson had written in a letter to a friend that if he should get into the palace of Delhi the House



of Timour would not be worth five minutes' purchase. And on the day after he wrote, "In twenty-four hours I disposed of the principal members of the House of Timour the Tartar. I am not cruel, but I confess that I do rejoice in the opportunity of ridding the earth of such ruffians."

Lieutenant Hodson, however, deceived himself; at this terrible moment he was actuated by that fierce and instinctive cruelty which had been aroused in the heart of almost all Englishmen at home as well as in India, at this moment of peril for English rule in India, and at the long cry of grief and terror raised by those who were victims of the mutiny. The moral sense was obliterated in almost every soul, and the few who, like Lord Canning, resisted the contagion, were accused of weakness and cowardice by their infuriated countrymen. At more than one point the savage character of the punishment testified to the fierce instincts of the human animal, excited by prolonged atrocities and maddened by the thirst for vengeance. Mr. Disraeli in the House of Commons, asserted this with indignant truth: "Public anger in India," he said, "is making Nana Sahib an example for English officers to imitate." Lieutenant Hodson was himself killed before the close of the war, but his action has remained the type of much that was done in India, and of yet more that was said in public and in private both in Calcutta and in England.

Other successes followed the fall of Delhi. The tide had turned, and the full restoration of English authority in India was but a question of time. The final relief of Lucknow was now the matter in hand. Sir Colin Campbell occupied himself through the month of October in organizing a force which was collected at Cawnpore. Here, on the 5th of November, he arrived personally; on the 9th he reached the Alumbagh, and on the 14th the advance was made. All the force which he had been able to collect amounted, at this time, only to about five thou-



sand men, but the English in India were accustomed to great disadvantages in numbers, and their courage was not at all diminished by the conditions under which they were to fight. From point to point the English advanced, but the enemy was very strong, and disputed the ground inch by inch, so that it was not until the 17th that the lines of the Residency were reached, and Sir Colin Campbell had "the inexpressible gratification" of meeting face to face Sir James Outram and General Havelock.

The two generals had supposed that Sir Colin would at once complete the capture of Lucknow; but the necessity of other operations prevented this. To withdraw the garrison and treasure in safety was all that the commander-in-chief was now able to do, and this was accomplished with great skill. He directed a heavy fire against one of the enemy's strongholds, as if it were his design to storm it; then, during the night of the 22d of November, all within the Residency were withdrawn through the lines of pickets, first the sick and wounded, then women and children, the stores of grain and the large mass of treasure, finally, the troops, and halted in the Dilkoosha park and palace, not far from the Alumbagh. Thither, on the following day, they were transferred, and, on the 27th of November, Sir Colin Campbell, leaving a strong force in the Alumbagh under Sir James Outram, marched to Cawnpore, where his presence was urgently required.

Before Sir Colin marched away, however, General Havelock died after a few days' illness, universally honored and lamented. He had just been made Knight Commander of the Bath, and had received the rank of baronet, a fitting reward for his long and brilliant services in India. Through the late campaigns the solitudes of a father had been added to a general's anxieties. His son had fought by his side with a gallantry worthy of his name. Fighting his way up to the Residency in Lucknow, under

a rain of fire, the moment General Havelock was within the gates, amid the acclamations and tears of the relieved garrison, his first words had been, turning to the aide-de-camp at his side: "Look to the boy, he is wounded." The father had been forced to see his son fall without himself turning an instant from his duty, but, the work accomplished, the father's heart at once remembered his wounded child, whose suffering saddened the victory. On the 24th of November General Havelock died. "For more than forty years," he said, "I have so ruled my life that, when death came, I might face it without fear."

"On the 25th," says Mr. Brock, his biographer, "a grave was prepared for his remains in the Alumbagh, and Sir Colin Campbell with his surrounding comrades, who had followed him through so many vicissitudes, buried him out of sight, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection and eternal life."

The rebels at Lucknow were held in check by General Outram while Sir Colin Campbell returned to Cawnpore. There he found the English troops besieged by the rebels. As soon as the general-in-chief had quitted the town, one of Nana Sahib's lieutenants, Tantia Topee, a Mahratta Brahmin, endowed with rare military talent, had advanced upon Cawnpore at the head of a large hostile force. General Windham, who was left in command at Cawnpore had gone out against them, but being defeated, had been compelled to retreat into his intrenchments within the city while the enemy occupied Cawnpore. Sir Colin Campbell's arrival was most opportune; he was for a few days obliged to occupy himself in securing passage for the huge convoy from Lucknow to Allahabad, but as soon as he was free from these encumbrances, he at once made a sharp and prompt attack upon the rebels, defeating them with great loss. Thirty-seven guns were taken, the rebel force scattered in the most demoralized condition, and Tantia Topee made his escape. In April, 1859, he at last fell



THE IMBARRA, LUCKNOW.





into the hands of the English, when he was tried for his share in the Cawnpore massacre, and hanged.

In March, 1858, Lucknow was finally completely subdued. For many months the campaign had now been carried on with a consummate skill which had not been possible amid the terror and difficulty of the first period. Strong reinforcements had also been sent out from England. The losses of the English had been numerically inconsiderable, those of the rebels were everywhere enormous. Among the officers who died at this time in India, Captain Sir William Peel, son of the great statesman, was one of the most lamented. He made part of Sir Colin Campbell's relieving army at the head of a sailor brigade, and conducted himself "with extraordinary gallantry," says Sir Colin Campbell.

The attack upon Lucknow was directed by Sir Colin Campbell in person. Sir James Outram was also there. On the 4th of February, the siege began in form; Lucknow was at this time defended by about one hundred and thirty thousand men, regulars and irregulars; the English army did not exceed twenty-five thousand men. On the 11th, some of the most superb palaces of Lucknow were stormed, the Imambarra, the Kaiserbagh, and the Begum's Kothie. Mr. Russell, the Times correspondent, writes of the sack of these palaces: "It was one of the strangest and most distressing sights that could be seen. . . . The men are wild with fury and lust of gold — literally drunk with plunder. From the broken portals issue soldiers laden with loot, shawls, rich tapestry, gold and silver brocades, caskets of jewels, arms, splendid dresses. Some come out with China vases or mirrors, dash them to pieces on the ground and return to seek more valuable booty. . . . Lying amid the orange-groves are dead or dying Sepoys, and the white statues are reddened with blood. Leaning against a smiling Venus is a British soldier, shot through the neck, gasping, and

at every gasp, bleeding to death. Here and there officers are running to and fro after their men, persuading or threatening in vain."

Far in the heart of Central India the standard of rebellion was held up vigorously to the very last by a woman's hand. When the territory of Jhansi had been annexed by Lord Dalhousie, the English governor had declined to recognize the adopted heir of the late rajah. Upon this the ranee, his wife, had refused to accept a pension from the English government, and as soon as the mutiny broke out in the north-west she eagerly instigated revolt among the native regiments in her city. There were in all but fifty-five Europeans in the city, including women and children; they took refuge in the fort and for a couple of days defended themselves bravely. Finally, the ranee sent word that if they would surrender their lives should be spared, and they should be sent in safety to some other station. The little garrison surrendered, and marching out were received by the soldiery and murdered, men, women, and children alike.

The ranee thus coming into full possession of the town, fortified it strongly in every way, and held it almost undisturbed till late in March, 1858. At this time Sir Hugh Rose, in command of the Central India force, having swept the country round about, arrived before Jhansi and laid siege to the place. Tantia Topee, Nana Sahib's former lieutenant, was co-operating with the ranee, and on the arrival of the British troops he departed for Calpee to organize a relieving force. On the 5th of April, Jhansi was taken. The ranee made her escape, and, joining Tantia Topee, they took the field against Scindia, the prince of Gwalior. Scindia had remained faithful to the English, and the rebel chiefs resolved to dethrone him. Tantia Topee entered Gwalior in disguise, and intrigued so successfully with the leaders of the disaffected in the town, that, in a sortie ventured by Scindia on the 30th of May, his troops deserted him, with the





SCINDIA, PRINCE OF GWALIOR.





exception of a body-guard of horse. Scindia made his escape to Agra, while Sir Hugh Rose advanced upon Gwalior; the rebel army in and near Gwalior was led by the ranee, dressed as a man, and fighting like one. Again and again she rallied her forces to the charge, and finally fell, mortally wounded, on the 17th of June. "The best man upon the side of the enemy," wrote Sir Hugh Rose, in a general order, "was the woman found dead, the Ranee of Jhansi."

The last sighs of the dying rebellion now no longer lifted the inert mass upon which weighed the English rule in India. The revolt was crushed, and order re-established. The offenders had been punished, their accomplices terrified; and now the English government had time to express its approval of those princes and territories which had remained faithful, and to prepare their recompense. With less delay, the English, both people and government, had rendered homage to the brave men whose gallantry had saved the Indian Empire.

On the 20th of December, 1858, Sir Colin Campbell, recently made Lord Clyde, announced officially to the governor-general at Calcutta that the campaign was at an end, and that there was no longer even a vestige of rebellion in the province of Oudh, the last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents having been finally driven across the mountains which form the barrier between the kingdom of Nepaul and her Majesty's empire of Hindostan. On May 1st, 1859, there was public thanksgiving in all the churches of England for the pacification of India.

For more than two hundred and fifty years a commercial association under the name of the East India Company had exercised a control over the interior affairs as well as over the commerce of the peninsula of Hindostan. For more than a century the victories of Clive and the base negligence of the government of Louis XV. had secured to the English the empire of India, an empire which France had for a moment gallantly

disputed with her. Province after province had been annexed to the territory which bore the yoke of the East India Company; prince after prince of the native races had been dispossessed, imprisoned, or exiled; while, up to the day of the outbreak of the Indian mutiny, the great mass of the English people had remained absolutely ignorant of the events as well as of the interests that were rife in their vast Oriental possessions, visited only by men eager to make a fortune rapidly, or by soldiers ordered for duty there. In his brilliant essay upon the life of Lord Clive, Lord Macaulay complains loudly that, while every school-boy knows the story of the Spanish conquests in America, the history of Montezuma, of Cortez, and of Pizarro, the majority of cultivated men in England are quite ignorant in respect to the conquests and growth of the English empire in India. Questions in Parliament relative to the government of this vast country were the affair of but a few persons, and seemed to excite no interest whatever in the public mind. As the lightning's flash suddenly tears the clouds which cover the sky, so the mutiny in India had torn the clouds of tradition, ignorance, and indifference. All England desired to know this country which she had now, for the first time, learned to dread, the control of which, long negligently held, she had seen nearly slipping from her grasp. The first emotion was that of surprise, followed immediately by indignation and the desire of vengeance. When the mutiny had finally been extinguished, English statesmen began to ask themselves what had been the causes, whether these causes might not again recur, and whether the measures of repression employed had been in all cases just and moderate. In earlier times, when Lord Clive and Warren Hastings had ruled the Hindoos with despotic sway, the clear light of parliamentary investigation had been let in upon the darkness and intrigues of Oriental courts and upon all the procedures of the English ruler in his dealings with the native princes. With even stronger

reason in 1858 was the government of this ever-increasing empire destined to become the object of a discussion as searching as it was ardent and impassioned. The spontaneous act of Lord Ellenborough, one of the members of the Indian government, furnished the first and a very legitimate pretext for this discussion.

On the 3d of October, 1858, Lord Canning had issued a proclamation addressed to the chiefs of Oudh, announcing that, with the exception of the lands held by six loyal proprietors, all the territory of Oudh had become the property of the English crown, to be disposed of as might hereafter seem suitable. Their personal safety was promised to all who should immediately surrender to the chief commissioner, with the exception of those personally guilty of the murder of English subjects. Their hope for any favors and indulgences, hereafter to be shown them, would depend entirely upon the justice and the clemency of the English government.

The commissioner, Sir James Outram, at once protested against the wholesale confiscation ordered by Lord Canning, affirming that its effect would be disastrous since no doubt the land-owners would refuse to submit, and that it would be necessary to institute a guerilla warfare for their extirpation, in which thousands of Englishmen would be forced to sacrifice their lives. Lord Canning, however, persisted in his intentions. Naturally disposed to clemency, equable and moderate, as had been clearly shown in the early days of the mutiny, when the voices of all urged him to a severity which he was never willing to exercise, it was his design to use gently and generously the power he had arrogated to himself over the inhabitants of the revolted province. He judged, however, as Lord Durham had done years before in Canada, that a new life must begin in the relations between England and the province of Oudh, that the usual course of law was suspended by the fact of a



rebellion, and that to exercise the power of a dictator was the surest and best way to re-establish order and justice in a territory but lately independent, revolting, as we have seen, almost immediately upon its annexation.

A liberal reaction had now begun in England. Lord Canning's own supporters in his former policy of moderation and equity at once attacked a measure which they believed both unjust and illegal. Lord Ellenborough went further. President of the Board of Control, and himself formerly governor-general of India, he condemned, with all the fiery enthusiasm of his nature, Lord Canning's proclamation, and took upon himself to make this known at Calcutta, through the medium of the secret committee of the Court of Directors, without consulting his colleagues upon the subject. "Other conquerors," wrote Lord Ellenborough, "when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people. You have acted upon a different principle; you have reserved a few as deserving of special favor, and you have struck, with what they feel as the severest of punishments, the mass of the inhabitants of the country. We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made." Lord Ellenborough's language was as unsuitable as his conduct was unconstitutional, acting as he did without the advice of the council over which he presided. The wisdom, the indomitable courage, the moderation of Lord Canning had powerfully contributed to the re-establishment of the English power in India. He had deserved better of his country than to be lectured thus by Lord Ellenborough, through the medium of the decrepit committee of an expiring Company. England felt this, and the question



was at once laid before Parliament; and Lord Ellenborough, taking upon himself the entire responsibility for his act, resigned his office.

The opposition had endeavored to make this incident the ground for an attack upon the ministry; but Lord Ellenborough's resignation changed the situation. Mr. Disraeli commented on the disappointment of the opposition with his usual brilliant sarcasm: "It was like a convulsion of nature," he said, "rather than any ordinary transaction of human life. I can only liken it to one of those earthquakes which take place in Calabria or Peru. There was a rumbling murmur, a groan, a shriek, a sound of distant thunder. No one knew whether it came from the top or the bottom of the house. There was a rent, a fissure in the ground, and then a village disappeared; then a tall tower toppled down; and the whole of the opposition benches became one great dissolving view of anarchy." Parties were, however, much more divided on this matter than Mr. Disraeli's triumph would make us believe. In France, M. de Montalembert, always well informed in respect to the great questions which agitated the Parliament of England, and always eagerly desiring for his own country the noble enthusiasms of a free government, summed up the question itself and the discussions upon it, in a pamphlet, entitled: "*Un débat, ou l'Inde dans le parlement anglais.*" His powerful voice broke the silence which at that time reigned in France, and awakened painful comparisons; the article and the author were prosecuted, and the eloquence of MM. Berryer and Dufaure did not suffice to obtain M. de Montalembert's acquittal.

The discussion in Parliament was heard in the East only as a far-away sound, in no way affecting the conduct of Lord Canning, however bitterly he may have felt it. It had never been his desire to make a literal and strict application of the principles he had judged it useful to lay down. Almost all the

great land-owners in the province of Oudh hastened to swear allegiance to the English government. They were responsible for the conduct of the villages, the supreme authority of England moderating their tyranny. The abuses of an earlier time had been abolished, and the native farmers felt themselves under a protection as equitable as it was strong. Lord Canning's plan, condemned in principle, had succeeded in practice, and soon had the suffrages of all, serving as the base on which was founded the great reform now proposed in the government of India by the English.

The Indian mutiny was the death-blow to the famous East India Company. Mr. Pitt had made the Company's administration completely subject to the English ministry; he, however, preserved the independence of the Company in matters of patronage and commerce, while Fox desired to place them under the control of a council nominated by the crown. The Company had held the patronage of the Civil Service until 1853, at which time the system of competitive examinations was put in force. It was in support of this principle that Lord Macaulay spoke for the last time in the House of Commons. A Board of Directors nominated partly by the crown and partly by the Company governed Indian affairs, but its decisions were reviewed and at times revised by the parliamentary Board of Control. The crown nominated the governor-general, but the Company had the power of recalling him. This mixed power necessarily brought about many delays and embarrassments, which made themselves strongly felt at a moment when prompt resolve and decided action were manifestly requisite to save English dominion in India. Public opinion ardently favored the crown's taking possession of the government of India.

The first measure to this effect was proposed by Lord Palmerston in 1858, but his power was already weakened, and he was very soon to resign office. The bill presented by Lord

Derby, which had been Lord Ellenborough's work, introduced into the formation of the council destined to rule the affairs of India so many complications that Parliament would not even listen to a second reading of it. The parliamentary resolutions called out by Lord John Russell served as the base for a new law, which came under hot discussion. The East India Company did not accept its sentence of death with passive resignation. Among the best servants of the Company were Mr. James Mill, and his son, John Stuart Mill; the latter skilfully and eloquently pleaded the Company's cause. In his essay on Representative Government the younger Mill referred to this subject: "It has been the destiny of the government of the East India Company," he says, "to suggest the true theory of the government of a semi-barbarous dependency by a civilized country, and after having done this, to perish. It would be a singular fortune if, at the end of two or three more generations, this speculative result should be the only remaining fruit of our ascendancy in India; if posterity should say of us that, having stumbled accidentally upon better arrangements than our wisdom would ever have devised, the first use we made of our awakened reason was to destroy them, and allow the good which had been in course of being realized to fall through and be lost, from ignorance of the principles on which it depended."

Mr. Mill's presages of evil have not been realized; the bill of 1858 put an end to the authority of the East India Company, but it did not sound the knell of the English rule in India. The governor-general is now a viceroy. The army of the East India Company has now become the queen's army. The bill declares that except for the purpose of preventing or repelling actual invasion of India, Indian revenues should not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applied to defray the expenses of any war outside of India. Also, that if a commencement of hostilities should be ordered in India, the fact



shall be promptly communicated to Parliament. In the matter of civil government, it was determined that the power previously exercised by the Company and the Board of Control should be vested in a Secretary of State for India, assisted by a Council of fifteen members, seven of these to be elected from their own number, by the Board of Directors of the East India Company, and the remaining eight to be named by the crown. Vacancies ensuing among the latter class were to be filled by the crown, and those among the former, after a certain time, by the secretary. The principle of competitive examinations was extended very widely and made permanent.

In accordance with this bill, on the 1st of September, 1858, the government of the East India Company over India ceased forever, and in November of the same year the queen was proclaimed throughout India. The treaties, dignities, rights, and usages then existing were confirmed. The Hindoo people received the assurance that the English government did not claim the right or entertain the desire to interfere in questions of caste or religion. Unconditional amnesty was proclaimed to all in arms against the government who should now return peaceably to their homes, with the exception of those who had been or should be convicted of having taken part in the murder of British subjects, and of those who had harbored such murderers or acted as leaders of the revolt. To the latter class only their lives were guaranteed. In respect to the former, the proclamation asserts, "the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy."

India was by no means as yet pacified and submissive. More than once she was destined again to cause England the most serious anxieties, and be to her the occasion of many and grave faults; but she had felt the strong hand of her masters, and she now received from them for the first time, an established constitution and the acknowledgment of her rights. One viceroy after another, called to apply this grand charter of the British



Empire in India, was to be chosen from among the most honored and honorable servants of the crown. The first of all was, with good reason, the man who had held up the name and honor of England in India, at a moment when her subjects were in revolt against her all through the vast territory, and when the unreasoning anger of her own children threatened to tarnish her glory. The measures of reform and of economy which marked the last years of Lord Canning's government were the first steps in the new path so wisely and boldly marked out. In March, 1862, Lord Canning left India, and but a few months later, he was laid to rest in Westminster Abbey, that last home of England's great servants.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE TORY ADMINISTRATION.

**L**ORD PALMERSTON and his ministry had passed through momentous crises, the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. They had met and supported the domestic shocks caused by the financial panic of 1857, which had brought ruin to some of the most famous and well-established houses. The Bank Charter Act of 1844 had been suspended, and the Bank of England had been authorized to augment its circulation of notes to two millions sterling; but already confidence was returning, the bank had remained well inside of the limits allowed it, and even a certain reserve had been established. Parliament adjourned at Christmas, and the nation was rejoicing with its sovereign over the projected union of the Princess Victoria, eldest child of the queen, and Prince Frederick of Prussia, eldest son of Prince William, heir presumptive to the Prussian throne. Power seemed secure in the hands of the Whigs, and their sway established on solid bases. The new enterprise of a foreign conspirator, in a foreign country, and against a foreign sovereign, was about to disturb this tranquillity by disturbing the judgment of the English ministry.

Count Orsini was well known in England. Imprisoned by the Austrians in Mantua, he had made his escape and taken shelter across the channel. The incidents of his escape, his noble and handsome face, his expressive eyes and jet-black hair, and that natural eloquence which animates almost all the men of his race, had rendered him popular in all the English cities

where he had addressed public meetings, seeking to excite sympathy for oppressed Italy and wrath against her oppressors. The somewhat superficial enthusiasm of the English for all liberal causes has often deceived the exiled patriots of other lands, themselves superficial observers and ignorant of the principles, or, one may say, the instincts which govern the conduct of the English nation. Like Kossuth and like Garibaldi, Orsini allowed himself to be deceived by the flattering welcome which he received personally, and by the sympathy openly and sincerely manifested for his cause. Imbued with the conviction, prevalent throughout Europe, that English public opinion governs England, fatally intoxicated by the empire he believed himself to hold over that public opinion, he hoped for an open intervention, in favor of Lombardy and Venetia, an actual taking up of arms, like that of France eighteen months later. At one of Orsini's meetings in Liverpool, a merchant of that city had the courage and good sense to declare openly to the ardent patriot that he was cruelly deceived in respect to the value of the enthusiasm with which the crowd received him, and the practical results for his country to be expected from his generous efforts. Orsini himself soon became aware of the uselessness of his attempts. He was wounded and indignant; proud and inconsiderate, he did not attribute his failure to the mere force of circumstances, to the patriotic good sense of a foreign nation resolved never to be drawn into adventures, even though it may admire the adventurer. The Emperor Napoleon III. had just paid a visit to the Queen of England. Once himself a conspirator, and not very long ago engaged in all the plots of the Italian patriots, the prince had forgotten his oaths; he had sacrificed his promises to his ambition; and now, one of the most powerful sovereigns in Europe, he was employing his power to support the oppressor in Italy and dissuade the English from lending aid to the liberal cause. The imagination of the disap-

pointed patriot grew heated at these thoughts; he went so far as to believe that the emperor was the real obstacle to the intervention of Europe in favor of Italy; that his death would remove this obstacle, and would be, indeed, the just punishment of his perfidy. The secret societies of Europe had long accustomed their members to regard assassination as a legitimate method of serving the cause; Orsini resolved to destroy the Emperor Napoleon III.

On the 14th of January, 1858, as the emperor and empress were driving up to the door of the Opera House in the rue Lepelletier, three bombs went off under the horses' feet, and almost in the carriage. Ten persons were killed and a hundred and fifty-six wounded. As in the case of the infernal machine of Fieschi, directed against King Louis Philippe, the innocent had been pitilessly sacrificed in the hope of destroying a dangerous enemy. The attempt was as foolish as it was criminal; it was directed against a man already favorably disposed towards Italy, whose mind was even then occupied with vague intentions which Count Cavour would soon persuade him to execute. The odious and criminal act of Orsini was not, however, absolutely without effect; it remained and was destined during his life to remain in the mind of Napoleon III. as a warning and a menace. Prince Albert suspected this, without knowing what were the engagements made by the emperor with Count Cavour, when he wrote April 1, 1858: "I fear the emperor is at this moment meditating some Italian development which is to serve as a lightning-conductor; for ever since Orsini's letter, he has been all for Italian independence."

It was an honor to Count Orsini, as it has been to more than one conspirator drawn into crime by political passion, that he cared nothing for his life, if he could by any means serve his cause after the failure of his attempt at assassination. Himself wounded by a fragment of shell, Orsini was tracked by his own



blood, and arrested without difficulty. He exhibited no anxiety except to exculpate a man unjustly accused of complicity; while avowing his attempt, he wrote to the emperor imploring his aid in favor of Italy. Righteously condemned, without the emperor's natural clemency being permitted to avail in his favor, he was put to death with Pierri his comrade, and two other accomplices were condemned for life to the galleys.

The public excitement was extreme, and the horror at the crime profound, even among those unfriendly to the imperial government and policy. The general anger was directed against England much more than against down-trodden and oppressed Italy, more even than against the criminal himself. "England is a den of brigands," it was said; "she gives shelter and support to all who work to overthrow European society. Orsini's bombs were made in England; in England the whole plot was laid." The addresses of felicitation which rained down from all quarters upon the Tuileries almost all testified to this national indignation; the language of the colonels of certain French regiments was so insulting towards England that the government was obliged to apologize for having allowed them to be published in the *Moniteur*. Diplomatic communications were scarcely less aggressive. "Is hospitality due to assassins?" asked Count Walewski, Minister of Foreign Affairs. "Ought the English legislature to favor their designs and their attempts, and continue to protect persons whom their acts have placed outside the common law, and under the ban of mankind?" The declarations of the Duke de Persigny, at that time French ambassador at London, were even more violent both in manner and in substance. "France does not understand this state of things," he said in reply to a deputation from the Corporation of London, "she cannot understand it, and there lies the danger, for she may be deceived in respect to the sentiments of her ally, and cease to believe in England's sincerity."

Better than any other man the Emperor Napoleon III. did understand that state of things whose former advantages his early and constant friend, M. de Persigny, had for the moment forgotten. All the plots of Prince Louis Napoleon had been matured in England; it was in England that he had found shelter after his various attempts to excite rebellion in France; there he had gathered his friends about him, waiting for the day when the wave of revolutions should once more bear aloft a name and a memory. All political refugees, all exiles of all parties had sought and found in London the shelter of which they had need, and that English protection of liberty which extends to opinions and causes the most diverse. In former days the Roman Catholic religion had offered to exiles the asylum of a kindly neutrality. Fugitive princes had found shelter in Rome; but now, the Roman Catholic Church herself was no longer in safety there, and the shipwrecked crowd was flung upon the hospitable shores of Great Britain. Lord John Russell openly acknowledged this in the House of Commons; he declared that it would be impossible to put into execution the English law against enlistments for the service of a foreign power, because all parties in succession were in the habit of violating these laws. In 1820, the cause of Greece against Turkey had been publicly advocated in London by men of the highest distinction, and money, arms, and men were sent out to Greece without the slightest pretence at secrecy. At that very time a legion was recruiting to fight for Victor Emmanuel against the pope, and another to fight for the pope against Victor Emmanuel. In short, for all political refugees, London was at once a sanctuary and an arsenal, where they might at their leisure forge weapons against the government that had driven them out. Undoubtedly this was a formidable privilege, and might become a danger and a menace, if the country granting it did not feel itself absolutely safe against the contagion of the political and moral maladies whose

germs were brought to it by all the winds of heaven, and remained confusedly working there.

Upon Orsini's attempt, the French government took the alarm and demanded guarantees from England against the conspirators. "Full of confidence," said Count Walewski, "in the wisdom of the English Cabinet, we abstain from indicating to them the measures which it may be suitable to take. We rely upon them to carefully determine what decision will be most suitable, and we felicitate ourselves in advance upon the firm persuasion that we shall not have appealed in vain to their conscience and loyalty." Lord Palmerston was touched by the confidence which the emperor's government felt in him, and, from the beginning of the reign had been personally pledged to its support; he felt himself obliged to comply with this request, and he advocated in the House of Commons the measures of conciliation which the popular feeling in France appeared to him to demand. A few days later he introduced the "Conspiracy to Murder Bill," which had the object of applying in England the same legislation which already prevailed in Ireland. Conspiracy to murder had been heretofore a mere misdemeanor punished by imprisonment, while in Ireland, it had been made a felony, punishable by penal servitude for a period not less than five years. Lord Palmerston introduced his measure as one of needed reform in legislation, without making any reference to the demands of France or Orsini's attempt upon the emperor's life. The opposition did not allow itself to be deceived by this apparent indifference; the partiality of Lord Palmerston for the Emperor Napoleon was sharply commented on, and the total inefficiency of the proposed measure, — a fanatic plotting the assassination of a foreign ruler, and deterred by the fear of a few years of penal servitude!

About this time, a Frenchman, accused of complicity in Orsini's crime, was arrested in London, at the instigation, it was

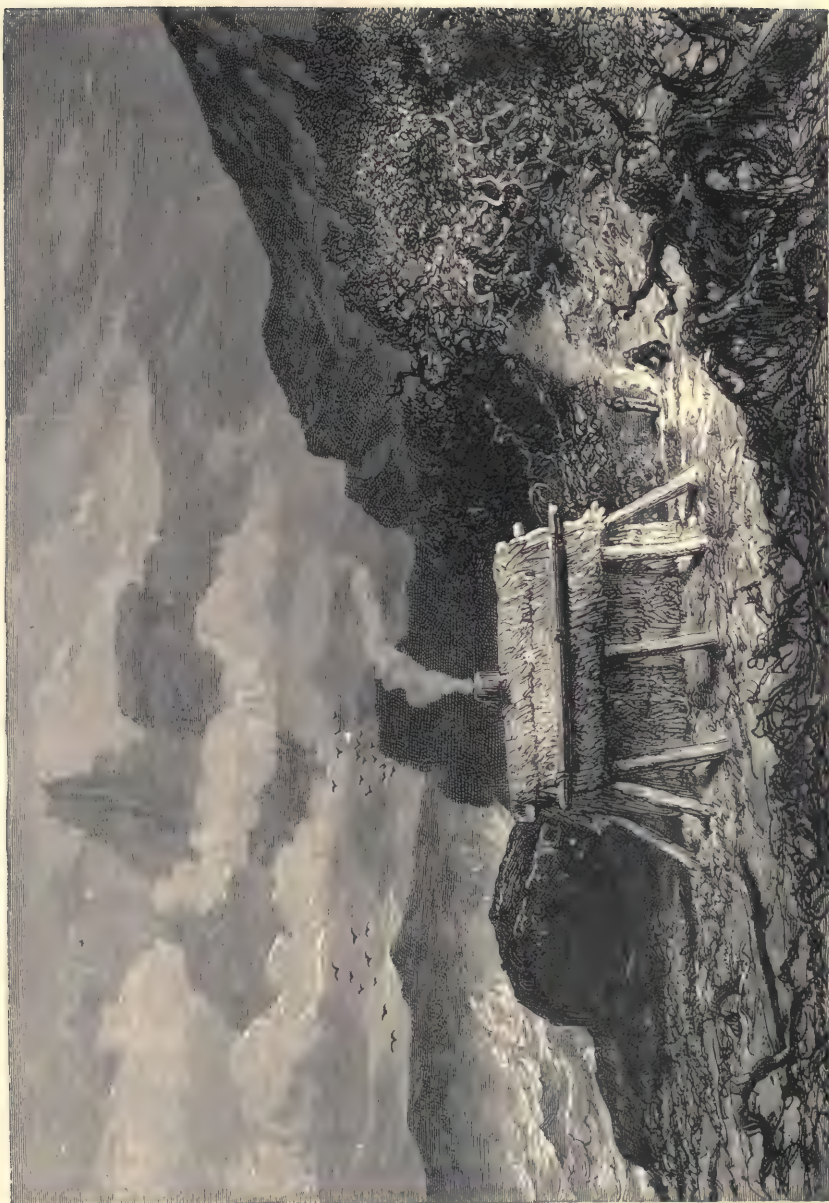


said, of French emissaries, and public sentiment became every day stronger against Lord Palmerston's bill. Bernard was acquitted by the court before which he was summoned under the existing law. The bill, which had passed on the first reading, was hotly attacked on the second, Mr. Milner Gibson proposed an important amendment, and Mr. Gladstone also spoke eloquently against it. Mr. Disraeli, who had up to this time, skilfully manœuvred in the hope of not compromising himself, while at first voting for the law, now suddenly placed himself in opposition to the proposed measure. Lord Palmerston was irritated and anxious as well as excited; his defence showed this, and the bill was rejected by a majority of nineteen, conservatives and liberals voting together. Lord Palmerston at once decided to resign.

A Tory Cabinet was readily formed under the lead of Lord Derby. Mr. Disraeli merited and received the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and became the leader of the House of Commons. Lord Stanley, the eldest son of the Earl of Derby, became Colonial Secretary, and soon after Secretary of State for India. He had not inherited his father's oratorical talents, but his prudent and reserved character, his industry, and his devotion to the affairs intrusted to him, gave rise to great hopes in the Tory party, of which later he became one of the most able and trustworthy leaders.

The new ministry was not, and did not feel itself to be, powerful in the Houses. Both brilliant oratory and long experience rendered the opposition master of the situation whenever it should choose to open the campaign. But this was not the tendency of the moment. Lord Palmerston had lost public favor and the majority in the House of Commons; Lord Derby dropped the bill, and the French government did not insist upon its demand, the fruit of a momentary panic. A good understanding was promptly restored between the two nations so





AUSTRALIAN PIONEERS.



lately, also, united by a war waged in common. The internal government of India was reconstructed by a tacit agreement with the chiefs of the Whig party. Questions of domestic policy now occupied the Houses. The Whig Cabinet had laid before Parliament several important measures which had been the objects of serious debate; and the Tory administration now followed in its footsteps. We will rapidly enumerate the important reforms which were thus introduced into the legislation of England from 1857 to 1859.

One of the first measures brought before the new Parliament in 1857 was a change in the procedures concerning divorce. This legal and complete separation had always been possible in England in the case of infidelity proven against either party, but the decree could be pronounced only by act of Parliament, and entailed very considerable expense. It was now proposed to remove the jurisdiction from Parliament, and to establish a Court of Divorce expressly to deal with conjugal differences. The opposition was long and eloquent. Mr. Gladstone and many members of Parliament were opposed on principle to rendering divorces facile and within the reach of all. But they strove against a democratic tendency impossible to be resisted in a land where divorce had long been legal in the higher classes of society. The bill was passed, and Parliament was relieved from the scandalous discussions inevitable so long as it was the final arbiter in these unhappy affairs, while the new court was soon crowded with applicants.

Another grave question came up about the same time, — that of the transportation of criminals. This means of getting rid of criminals dated from the reign of Charles II., in whose time magistrates for the first time authorized the deportation of certain convicts to the colonies of North America. The war of independence having set free the American colonies, it became necessary to establish a penal settlement at some more remote

point, deportations having meanwhile been legally established by an act of Parliament in 1717. In 1787, the first vessel laden with criminals arrived at Botany Bay, on the eastern shore of New South Wales, and not far from the spot where to-day stands the large and thriving city of Sydney. Convicts were also transported soon after to Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania, and to Norfolk Island, a solitary island in the Pacific Ocean, more than eight hundred miles distant from New South Wales. This little spot, lost in space, became itself the penal colony of the other colonies; convicts committing crimes after their deportation to Botany Bay or Tasmania being a second time transported to Norfolk Island.

In theory, and for the good of the offender as well as for that of society which thus cast him out of its midst, the system of deportation appeared at once the most efficacious and the most humane. The crimes of these convicts had not been such as to call for the death-penalty, while yet rendering them unsuitable to live on terms of equality with honest men. At the same time that it relieved English society of their corrupting presence, deportation offered to them a new career, the possibility of reform, and the means of commencing a better life, while the ticket-of-leave system admitted them to the privilege of working as free men in colonies where often the demand for labor far exceeded the ordinary supply.

The law of 1717 declared that "in many of her Majesty's colonies and plantations in America there was a great want of servants who, by their labor and industry, might be the means of improving and making the said colonies and plantations more useful to this nation." This was the sole solicitude of the statesmen of that period, and such their conception of their duty towards the country they served. The colonies themselves were not slow in complaining. The crimes which had occasioned the deportation of the offenders were in general



of such a nature and brought about by such antecedents that the guilty persons brought to their new country more brutality than energy, more demoralization than zeal for labor. When the convicts occupied alone a district converted into a penal settlement, the place became a lair of demons ; when they were allowed to be at large in a colony, the honest population was filled with alarm at their crimes, and could with difficulty endure their presence. New South Wales protested against this infected importation. In 1840, Lord John Russell, then Colonial Secretary, turned away the torrent of criminals from the Australian territory, and from that time forward, Van Diemen's Land alone received them. Lord Stanley, when he became Secretary, prohibited the colonists from employing convicts at a price below that of free labor, thus depriving the former of the only advantage they could derive from an insupportable situation. The colonists in Van Diemen's Land protested, following the example of those of New South Wales. Mr. Gladstone for a time suspended the system of deportation. When Sir George Grey attempted to send a considerable number of criminals to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the colonists rose against this innovation, and prohibited the landing of the convicts.

The difficulty became every day more serious. A parliamentary commission was appointed in 1837 to investigate the question. The state of affairs brought to light deeply agitated the firmest minds. Norfolk Island, given up to the most hardened of the criminals, had become a very image of the infernal regions. In the colonies where the deported were allowed to work in the service of the free inhabitants, they were under severe restrictions, which, however, did not hinder the development among them of the most frightful corruption of morals. The result of the investigation made it clearly impossible henceforth to oblige the colonies to accept a burden which in general they repulsed with horror. In vain parliamentary commissions studied

the subject; they found no issue. In 1853, penal servitude was substituted for transportation for the majority of criminals. Lord Grey proposed that the system of partial liberation, the ticket-of-leave system, practised in the colonies, should be applied to all criminals not under sentence of penal servitude, good conduct being recompensed by a conditional liberation and the right to labor under certain conditions and with the inspection of the police. The system was applied in Ireland under a wise and careful direction; its fruits were excellent, the moral effect upon the criminals real and lasting. But the conditions of success were not always and everywhere attainable; liberation was too readily granted in all cases where the conduct of the prisoners had not been scandalously contrary to the laws of the penal establishment. A crowd of criminals, scarcely trained to submit to the interior discipline of the prison, and having undergone no moral change whatever, were thus every year returned to the society whose laws they at once violated anew. Most of them fell back again into crime, the liberated convicts were again convicted, and the public became more and more alarmed. In 1857, the system of deportation was definitively abolished, save in rare cases, and in a very restricted territory. The system of penal servitude was generally substituted for it,—the ticket-of-leave was suppressed or rendered difficult of application. A new attempt and a new experiment were thus substituted for the earlier systems, whose disadvantages had become manifest. A new step was essayed in the difficult path of punishment necessary for the protection of society, yet not such as to close the door upon the reform and restoration of the criminal,—a difficult problem and often seemingly insoluble even to faith and charity, in presence of human free-will and the natural bent towards evil.

About the same time, the legislation concerning marriage underwent, in Scotland, a first transformation, destined later to

become more radical and bring a remedy to the frequent irregularity in unions of this nature; marriages contracted before a blacksmith at Gretna-Green were henceforth practically abolished, a residence of twenty-one days in Scotland became indispensable, elopements and hasty vows were no longer possible. Some years, however, were to elapse before legislation suppressed also the marriage by mutual consent before witnesses, much more dangerous in its inconsiderate application than the ancient practice of the Roman Catholic Church, for that required at least the presence and witness of the priest.

It was not until 1858, after long and persevering effort, that the Jews finally succeeded in obtaining recognition of their political rights in the person of Baron Lionel Rothschild, three times elected to Parliament by the City of London. The civil incapacities which had crushed the Jews throughout all Europe, and of which France had first broken the unjust tradition, yet weighed cruelly upon the English Israelites up to the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign. The oaths required upon entrance into all offices barred to them the doors. "The operation of the law was fatal," says Sir Erskine May, "to nearly all the rights of a citizen. A Jew could not hold any office, civil, military, or corporate. He could not follow the profession of the law as barrister or attorney, or attorney's clerk; he could not be a schoolmaster, or an usher at a school. He could not sit as a member of either House of Parliament, nor even exercise the electoral franchise, if called upon to take the electoral oath."

By degrees the civil incapacities had been abolished. In 1850, Baron Lionel Rothschild presented himself to be sworn as member of the House of Commons. He accepted without difficulty the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; but, when the oath of abjuration of the Stuarts was offered him, he omitted from it the words, "on the true faith of a Christian." Admittance to the House was refused him, and also, the year



following, to Mr. David Salomons, elected from Greenwich. This latter gentleman decided to bring the question to an issue: he resolutely took his place among the members, explaining in a calm and moderate speech that he did so from a sense of duty towards himself and his constituents, and should withdraw if sufficient force were used to enable him to declare that he was acting under coercion. Upon this, the sergeant-at-arms, being ordered by the Speaker to remove Mr. Salomons, touched him on the shoulder, and Mr. Salomons at once withdrew.

The question was thus brought before the Court of Exchequer, and it was there decided that the words must be held to constitute a specially Christian oath, which could be taken by no one but a Christian, and without taking which, no one could be a member of Parliament. It was not until 1857, and upon the proposal of Lord John Russell, that the House of Commons admitted Jews to a seat among their number. The definite reform of the oaths took place some months later. Mr. Disraeli had the satisfaction of seeing, during his ministry, the doors of that English Parliament of which he has been one of the ablest chiefs, open to the ancient race whose descendant he is proud to call himself.

Coincident with the abolition of the last political disabilities of the Jews, was the removal of the landed-property qualification of members of Parliament. The clauses of this law dated from the time of Queen Anne, and its application had been so often evaded, that in the reign of George II. candidates had been required to take oath that they possessed the property legally requisite. The actual practice remained, however, the same: members well known to be without property were qualified by friends or patrons, who placed them in possession for the moment of the landed estate necessary. "After every general election," said Mr. Locke King, in the House



of Commons, "there are from fifty to sixty cases in which it is found that persons have declared themselves to be possessed of the requisite qualification, who are notoriously not in possession of it." In 1858, a defeated candidate prosecuted his successful opponent on the ground of the latter's legal incapacity. The sentence was inevitable, and the new member was condemned to three months in prison. Upon this, a bill was at once introduced to modify the law, and the property qualification for English and Irish members of Parliament was abolished.

The disturbance caused in the Houses by the dissension between Lord Ellenborough and Lord Canning having ended in the latter's resignation as President of the Board of Council, and Lord Stanley becoming Secretary of State for India, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton succeeded Lord Stanley as Colonial Secretary. The political life of Sir Edward had been, up to this time, irregular and erratic; he had commenced life as a Radical, and now found himself in the ranks of the Conservatives. His literary reputation and his rare talent as a novelist were not of use to him in the new career upon which he had entered. Notwithstanding the oratorical facility which he soon displayed, and the industry upon which he prided himself, the public were of opinion that the imaginative and romantic element held too large a place in the government of the country when it presided both at the Exchequer and over the colonies. The persevering ambition of Mr. Disraeli and of Sir Edward Lytton did not suffer discouragement from these unfriendly dispositions, over which they were destined ultimately to triumph.

The first personal act of Lord Lytton as Colonial Secretary was the formation of British Columbia, comprising all the territories subject to the queen, bounded on the south by the United States, on the east by the principal chain of the Rocky Moun-

tains, on the north by Simpson's River and the Finlay Branch of the Peace River, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. Vancouver's Island was soon after annexed to British Columbia, and the whole colony was swallowed up in the Dominion of Canada in the year 1871.

At the same time that he was establishing the colony of Columbia, Sir Edward Lytton was preparing England to renounce the protectorate of the Ionian Islands. From the time of the Treaty of Vienna, the Seven Islands had formed a kind of republic, whose protectorate had been, by general consent, confided to England. The Lord High Commissioner, generally appointed from the army or navy, combined the duties of commander-in-chief and civil governor. The Ionian senate consisted of six members, and its legislative assembly of forty. This little assembly, which owed its existence to the popular constitution granted, ten years before, to the young republic, loudly made known the discontent of the inhabitants of the islands under the English rule. It was useless to reiterate to them the assurance that they were a republic, enjoying all the privileges of self-government, the Lord High Commissioner was able to dispense with the republican parliament whenever its volubility became annoying, and English soldiers were ever present to keep the Seven Islands in proper submission. They aspired to the liberty of independent action, not with a view of remaining free and isolated, but with the desire of uniting themselves to the little Kingdom of Greece and claiming their rights as Greek citizens. Ionian politicians secured popularity among their fellow-citizens by denouncing the abuses of the foreign power and proclaiming the national aspirations towards liberty. The unreasonableness of these claims appeared evident to many in England; regardless of logic, they maintained that the discontent of the Ionians was due to that free constitution of which the English nation itself was so proud; Sir Edward Lytton

judged otherwise. He had long maintained the principle of national independence, and in resolving to have an examination made of the serious opinions of the Ionians he addressed himself to another spirit pledged in advance and by instinct to generous ideas. Mr. Gladstone had not been concerned in public affairs for several years. He had been an independent supporter of Lord Palmerston's Cabinet. His sympathy for the cause of the Greeks was well known; his Greek studies were equally a matter of notoriety. To him Sir Edward Lytton confided the charge of examining the subject of the Ionian protectorate, under the title of Lord High Commissioner Extraordinary. In the month of November, 1858, Mr. Gladstone landed in Corfu.

English policy and the English statesman were decided to employ great prudence in dealing with the Ionian patriots. Mr. Gladstone asserted at once and in the most public manner that his mission was solely to ascertain what advantages could be accorded to the inhabitants of the islands under the protectorate of England. His precautions were useless. His reputation counted for more than his assertions. He was everywhere received and welcomed as "Gladstone, the Philhellene." His arrival was regarded by all the Ionians as the era of deliverance. In vain did Mr. Gladstone protest against the logic of the islanders and against his own personal popularity; the public hopes became so eager that the National Assembly passed a resolution for union with Greece. It was all that Mr. Gladstone could do to prevent them from declaring upon the spot their independence and to prevail upon them to draw up a memorial addressed to the protecting Powers. The rumor of Mr. Gladstone's popularity in the islands and at Athens caused much excitement in England. The Lord High Commissioner Extraordinary and his mission were attacked with violence. Mr. Gladstone was declared false to his country, and the madness and ingratitude of the islands excited the indignation of the



press as well as of the opposition in Parliament. More skilful than the Ionians in discovering wherein consisted supreme felicity, the English papers declaimed violently against the natural and patriotic illusions of these people who wished to become Greeks again, at the price of losing the excellent administration which the English protectorate assured to them. The Ionians, however, were obstinate, and took no account of the arguments of England; but Mr. Gladstone returned home without completing the work of their deliverance, whatever hopes his presence may have authorized. A new Lord Commissioner was sent out, less popular, and less compromised in the cause of Greek independence; the conviction, however, remained among the people of the Archipelago that England would one day yield to their urgency. The revolution which, in 1863, drove King Otho from the throne of Greece, was to serve as a pretext and an occasion for bringing this false situation to an end.

The great Powers were resolved to maintain the kingdom of Greece; they had with much difficulty succeeded in finding a king for this little country, whose people seemed to be as hard to govern as their ancestors had been in the old Athenian days. The Greeks had asked for Prince Alfred of England, in the evident hope of securing a powerful protector. To this request Queen Victoria had replied as King Louis Philippe did, when, upon the first establishment of the kingdom of Greece, the Duke de Nemours had been offered its crown. The Emperor Napoleon III. cherished in secret a desire to place his cousin, Prince Jerome Napoleon, upon an independent throne whose duties would remove him far from France; but Europe was no more inclined to see the balance of power lean towards the side of France than of England; and it was upon a young prince of Denmark, the brother of the Princess of Wales, that the hopes of Greece and the good-



will of the diplomatists at last united. The new sovereign was proclaimed, and as a gift in honor of the occasion, Lord John Russell, in the name of England, renounced the protectorate of the Ionian Islands, which were immediately united to the kingdom of Greece. The act was as politic as it was generous and sensible. It took its rise from a just conviction of the legitimate independence of all nations, even the smallest, and their imprescriptible right to control their own destinies. It met even then a lively opposition in England, and left behind a secret ferment of wounded pride and irritation, which many a time interfered with the true policy of the nation, and forced the English government into paths less wisely liberal than that followed by Sir Edward Lytton, by Mr. Gladstone, and by Lord John Russell in the affair of the Ionian Islands.

It was not enough for the most moderate Liberals — really masters of the situation even while their opponents were in the Cabinet — to see Mr. Gladstone welcomed in Greece, and the principle of nationalities ardently supported by the National Assembly in session at Corfu, and of this Mr. Disraeli was well aware. He was from that time forward the true leader of the Conservative party. Lord Derby was now growing old; his ambition, never very ardent, had long been fully satisfied. He had loyally employed all the great gifts which race and nature had given him. Eloquent without effort, he had ruled his country as by hereditary right; he was a farmer, a sportsman, a judge of horses, as well as a man of letters and a translator of Homer. The thirst for power had never been excited in his soul; he possessed naturally all that he could desire. Mr. Disraeli was still pursuing the objects of his ambition, which destiny had not thrown at his feet; he had yet conquests to make, a position to secure and strengthen. The idea of Reform remained ever present to the minds of the

Liberals; it was, above all, ever present to the mind of Lord John Russell, the original author of the Reform Bill, which he had twice sought, in 1852 and in 1854, to render more extensive and efficient. Mr. Bright, moreover, had lately reappeared upon the political stage after a long absence occasioned by ill health. He was eloquent and bold, and as soon as his strength was re-established he began to work in behalf of electoral reform, holding great meetings in the north, and preparing a Reform Bill of his own. The constant reproach addressed to the Tories was their ill-will towards reforms of every kind. Mr. Disraeli resolved to make the attempt, and to contrive, if it were possible, formulas which might deceive the Liberal without revolting the Conservative instincts. He prepared a Reform Bill whose clauses were for the most part absurd; the only serious modification of the existing law was, that it proposed to equalize the franchise in counties and boroughs.

Mr. Bright and his friends had but one aim, and this was to admit the working-classes to a share in legislation; the scheme of Mr. Disraeli proposed to give the franchise to clergymen, teachers, and professional men. It afforded to the Liberals no satisfaction, and at the same time it wounded the rigid and consistent Tories. Mr. Walpole and Mr. Harley withdrew from the Cabinet, resolved not to sustain measures which they would have opposed if brought forward by Lord Palmerston or Lord John Russell. The Liberals, on their part, were not contented with what the leader of the Conservatives offered them. Lord John Russell moved an amendment to the effect that the modifications offered by government would not be satisfactory to the House of Commons without a wider extension of the franchise in cities and boroughs being provided for. In vain did Mr. Gladstone skilfully defend the little boroughs, enumerating the eminent men who had made their *début* in Parliament as representatives

of a very small number of electors whose votes had been controlled by some great land-owner. Lord John Russell's amendment was passed by three hundred and thirty votes against two hundred and ninety-one, and Parliament was at once dissolved.

The general elections were favorable to the Conservative party, without, however, bringing into its ranks a reinforcement strong enough to secure them against the attacks of their opponents. The patience of the Liberals was nearly at an end. It was becoming time for them to return into power. An alliance was concluded between the Whigs and the Radicals, and the Peelites consented to take part in it. Parliament met, and almost at once Lord Hartington, eldest son of the Duke of Devonshire, as yet a very young man, and but lately become a member of the House of Commons, proposed a vote of want of confidence. He was personally but little known, and this was his first step in the political career which was to make him one of the chiefs of the great Whig party. His resolution was accepted; the ministry, which had foreseen its fate from the moment a coalition had been formed among the various sections of the opposition, resigned, and the queen entrusted Lord Granville with the formation of a new Cabinet.

Lord Granville was an amiable and popular man; he was still young, extremely well-informed in European affairs, and at the same time strongly English in tastes and principles. The queen had hoped to conciliate the ancient rivalry between Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston by selecting a prime minister under whose more modest flag the two great Liberal chiefs might be willing to serve. This design failed by reason of Lord John Russell's determination not to take office under Lord Granville. He would have been willing, he said, to serve under Lord Palmerston, but would form no other alliance. This unexpected concession facilitated ministerial combinations. Lord Granville promptly and willingly withdrew. Lord Palmerston

became prime minister; the Conservatives as well as the Liberals felt, without saying it, that he grasped the power with a triumphant hand, and that he would never let it escape him until that supreme moment when all human power is effaced before the uncontested authority of death.





LORD JOHN RUSSELL.



## CHAPTER XI.

## THE LIBERALS WITHOUT REFORM. EASTERN DIFFICULTIES.

THE Liberal Ministry was strongly constituted, and stretched its far-reaching roots through all the parliamentary soil. Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord John Russell had the Foreign portfolio, Sir George Lewis was Home Secretary, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, Minister of War. Colonial affairs were entrusted to the Duke of Newcastle, the Irish Secretaryship to Mr. Cardwell, and India to Sir Charles Wood. Lord Palmerston had even made advances to the Radical founders of the Manchester school, offering a place in the Cabinet to Mr. Cobden and to Mr. Milner Gibson. Mr. Cobden at the time of the formation of the ministry was at sea, on his way home from the United States; as he set foot on shore his friends hastened to inform him that he had been elected member for Rochdale, that the Tory Ministry had fallen, and in the construction of the Liberal Cabinet, a place had been reserved for him by Lord Palmerston. He was urged to accept it, but refused to commit himself until he had had a personal interview with Lord Palmerston. His decision, however, was made; he disapproved of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, and would not agree to serve under his flag. Nevertheless he counselled Mr. Milner Gibson not to follow his example, and that gentleman did, in fact, enter the new Cabinet.

The Whig Ministry had been formed at a moment of European agitation, of which the shock was felt in England. The long ambition and foresight of Count Cavour were bearing fruit.

The little kingdom of Piedmont was beginning to bring forth Italy, that ancient fiction of poets and patriots, until now without historic existence, without any real traditions. The battlefield of centuries was again opened in Lombardy, and the Emperor Napoleon III., proclaiming that France was the only country in the world which made war for an idea, marched to deliver Lombardy and Venetia from the odious rule of the Austrians. The declaration of war had not been spontaneous, and the emperor had hesitated long before entering upon the performance of his engagements with Count Cavour. He was in no hurry to begin hostilities whose end no man could foresee. The military reputation of the Austrians was great; personal renown had very small place in the mind of Napoleon III., who, in the depths of his soul, was not perfectly sure of his own military talent. Europe weighed heavily in favor of peace, and England in particular strongly urged it.

The influence of Count Cavour outweighed that of all Europe. Resolved to serve his country by all means, unscrupulous in the choice of them, Count Cavour went forward to his goal with a will as determined as his intelligence was prompt and his decisions bold and judicious. "There are only two ambitious men in Europe," M. Guizot was accustomed to say at that time, "Count Cavour and Count Bismarck." Both of these two men have since attained their objects through the dark ways of politics and the violence of war. Prince Bismarck was able to say on the morrow of his victory: "Force has the advantage over right." Count Cavour was too moderate in manner and too refined in language to risk an axiom like this, he simply limited himself to ignoring the right. In 1859, and by the support of the Emperor Napoleon III., he boldly put on the glorious mantle of liberal patriotism. It was in the name of Italian independence, too long oppressed, that he declared war; Italy rose beneath his hand to drive out the stranger. The Italian war



was as short as it was brilliant; the power of the Austrians in Italy vanished, like their former military reputation; the Emperor Napoleon stopped suddenly in the career which he had announced his intention to follow out to its completion. The breath of deliverance did not reach as far as the Adriatic; for some years longer Venetia was destined to remain under the German yoke, until German dissensions should throw her, astonished at her own liberty, into the hands of Napoleon as a trust to be held for the benefit of Italy.

The peace of Villafranca disturbed Europe and caused great anxiety. Count Cavour could not be expected to stop there; of this Europe was conscious; the annexation of Savoy and Nice seemed an exorbitant price for the assistance lately granted by the emperor in the name of liberty; the people of England were even more anxious than her government. The Italian question henceforth seemed to considerate minds to contain remote dangers, as well as other more evident ones. "The first time the subject was mentioned to Lord Palmerston," said M. Guizot, "he did not repulse it absolutely, but he said, 'It is strange; the Emperor Napoleon declared in beginning the war that he wished the integrity of the Papal States, and by no means the territorial aggrandizement of France; and in closing it he seems to have obtained neither of his wishes.'"

At this time M. Guizot wrote, "There is an effort made to persuade London to be satisfied that France should have Savoy and Nice, on condition of her approving and assuring the union of Central Italy to Piedmont. I incline to believe that we shall obtain it, perhaps at the price of some commercial concessions." The commercial question had already come up. The cause of Free Trade, fought for in England so brilliantly and with so much vigor, was henceforth won for all Europe, and it was England who was to be its propagandist. Mr. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and as an ardent follower of Sir

Robert Peel, supported, with all his personal and official influence, Mr. Cobden, engaged unofficially in negotiating with the Emperor Napoleon. A treaty of commerce between France and England resulted from this bold and irregular conference. The somewhat confused ideas which crowded in the emperor's brain, aided by the practical information and the resolute firmness of his minister, M. Rouher, the influence of French political economists and a certain confidence which the emperor felt towards England and Mr. Cobden, inspired and effected the great change in the commercial relations of France with Great Britain, — a change too sudden not to excite grave remonstrances and bring after it enormous difficulties, but impossible to revoke, being as it was one of those forward steps which admit of no retrogression, however serious may one day become the doubts and the regrets in regard to them.

The shock produced in France by the treaty of commerce made itself felt in England as an anxiety. The English nation was not at that time favorable to the emperor and to his policy; the war in Italy and the results which had followed in the peninsula, as well as in France itself, had shocked and pained many good men. The Tories had no taste for Italian independence; the Liberals troubled themselves very little about it. A new power was coming into existence which must be taken account of. The imprudence of a French policy creating with its own hands a compact state upon its frontier seemed so incredible that all manner of dark and underhand designs were ascribed to the emperor; even danger to public morals was apprehended in England from the establishment of free trade with France. French wines, freely imported into Great Britain, would bring about, it was believed, an increasing demoralization. Mr. Gladstone was accused of having sacrificed the national interests to his theories, and of rendering defenceless the frontiers of his country. The clamor grew louder when the able

Chancellor of the Exchequer presented his budget, with considerable reductions upon the taxes. He had with great difficulty obtained in Parliament the acceptance of his treaty of commerce with France; he had reduced or abolished a part of the burdens which weighed upon the press; he now proposed an important abatement in the duty on paper. The manufacturers leagued with the great journals to oppose the reduction which, by lowering the price of paper, threatened to multiply periodical publications to an enormous degree, and the clamor increased from day to day. Mr. Gladstone carried his point, but his partisans diminished in number, and the measure was passed by only a majority of nine. The House of Lords, however, rejected it upon a proposition offered by Lord Monteagle and brilliantly supported by Lord Lyndhurst, eloquent and ardent even then, in spite of his eighty-nine years, although the infirmities natural to so great age required for him the erection of a temporary railing in front of his seat, upon which he leaned while speaking.

Lord Lyndhurst was even more afraid of the dangers with which England was menaced by the possible schemes of the Emperor Napoleon than of the development which journalism might take upon the reduction of the paper duty. His influence upon the House of Lords brought about a conflict between the two Houses which came near assuming the importance of a grave constitutional question. Lord Palmerston's parliamentary skill succeeded in turning away the difficulty by leaving the way open for the Lords to retrace their steps and vote at the following session the reduction in taxes which had been accepted by the House of Commons and had just been refused by themselves. The weakness of the majority in the Lower House had evidently brought on the conflict. Mr. Gladstone was disposed to attach to it more importance than did the head of the Cabinet; he had characterized the act of the Lords as a "gigantic innovation,"



and shared the impatience of the Liberals and their disapproval of Lord Palmerston's prudent ingenuity. From day to day, the Tory Liberal, brought up in the school of Sir Robert Peel, detached himself more and more completely from the party with which he had been at first allied and the principles he had long supported. The advanced Liberals congratulated themselves openly on seeing Mr. Gladstone separate from Lord Palmerston, and from the prime minister's home policy, which was always conservative, whatever might be his foreign sympathies, and their gratification was increased by Mr. Gladstone's manifest sympathy with themselves, whose leader he was eventually destined to become.

Meantime, the Cabinet had in its turn proposed a Reform Bill. Lord John Russell had long urged its necessity, supported by the Radicals, but the moderate Whigs were opposed to the measure, and Lord Palmerston felt no interest in its success. Its clauses were simple, proposing to lower the county franchise to ten pounds and that of the boroughs to six. A considerable redistribution of seats was made, to the advantage of the cities and the larger counties. A minority representation was assured to constituencies naming three members. Mr. Disraeli made a sharp attack upon the scheme as a whole. He had himself not long before proposed some measures not very dissimilar, but he felt that the law was unpopular in the Cabinet itself, and that it was abandoned to its fate by Lord Palmerston; he thought it well, moreover, to reserve for a possible future to his own party the honor of carrying through a Reform Bill, and he therefore was unsparing in his ridicule and criticism. The discussion was prolonged in a languid and inefficient manner until on the 11th of June, 1860, Lord John Russell gave notice that the government had decided to withdraw their bill. Lord Palmerston had forfeited the good will of the Liberals; once again he had manifested his determination not to serve them in the matter of trans-



forming the English constitution which they had so much at heart, and while he should live, Reform was evidently impossible. Of this Lord John Russell himself was perfectly aware. Mr. Pitt once promised George III. that he would never again bring up the question of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, so long as the old king's life and his scruples barred the way. Without formal engagement and with a tacit submission, Lord John Russell consented to await the day when Lord Palmerston should yield to him the headship of the Whig party. It is a curious example of obstinate resolve and prudent moderation between these two rival statesmen, who had for so long a time disputed the supremacy in the House of Commons in the name of the Liberals, of whom, however, so large a number escaped their sway.

Parliamentary struggles were not, however, the sole anxiety of England at this time: she was in constant fear of aggressions on the part of the Emperor Napoleon, and the Houses had already voted two millions sterling for strengthening the coast defences; strikes in the manufacturing districts had brought disorder and great suffering; finally, China was causing serious anxiety, with new probabilities of a war, more serious and wide-spread than it had before been.

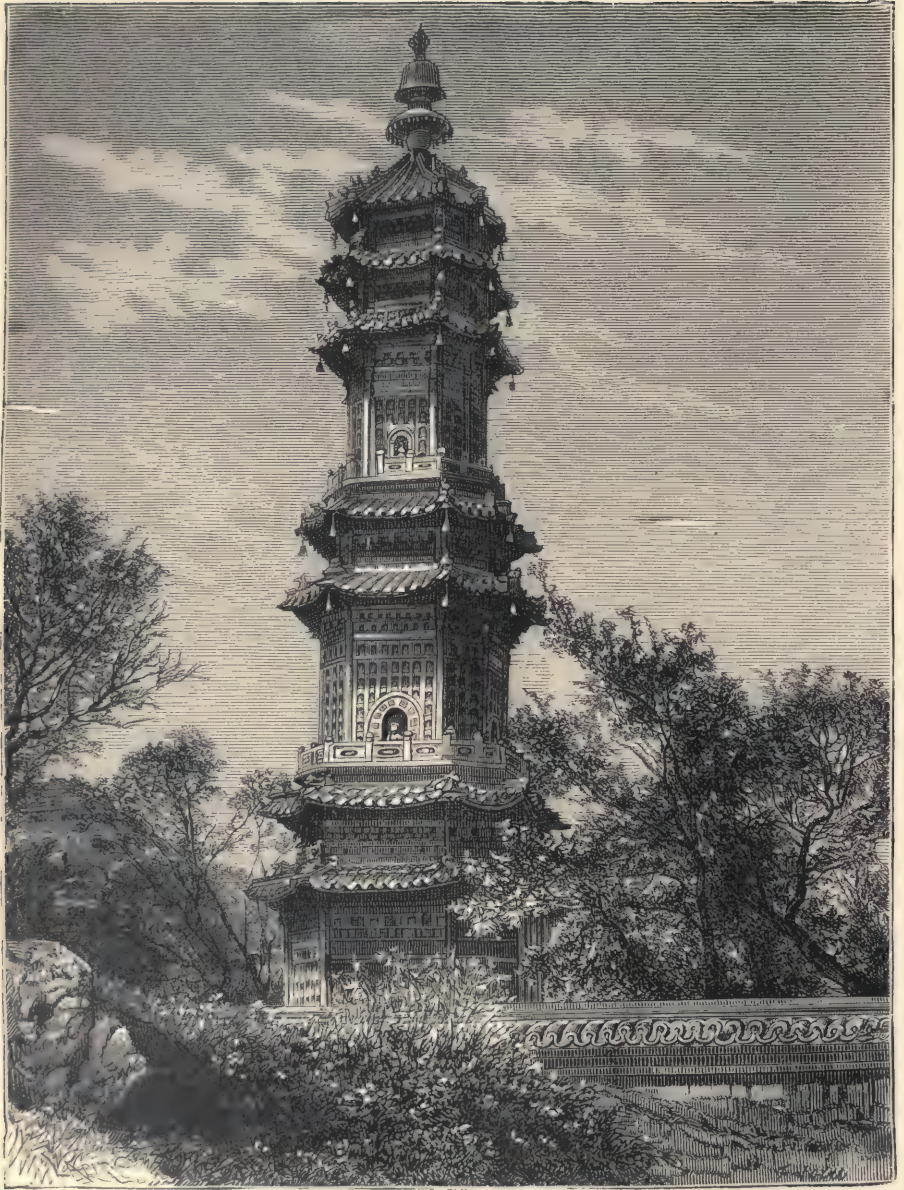
When in 1857 the Mutiny in India broke out, hostilities with China were at once suspended; troops which had been destined for Canton were retained for the protection of the English dominion in India. In 1858 that terrific conflagration having been reduced to a few smoking brands, the English government had leisure to turn its attention to China, and accepted the co-operation of France, who had to avenge the wrongs done to certain missionaries. The allied forces attacked Canton; the city was taken, and the Chinese commissioner, Yeh, sought shelter in some obscure corner. He was recognized by his enormous size, and a British officer laid hands upon this great

dignitary of the Middle Kingdom. The latter tried to escape, and a sailor seized the mandarin's pig-tail and twisted it so sharply that the unfortunate Yeh was obliged to surrender. He was taken on board an English ship and presently sent to Calcutta, where he died the following year. The remembrance of his cruelties long remained among the people of Canton; it was said that he had ordered the death of a hundred thousand rebels, but the English "barbarians" manifested no consideration for his importance.

The two plenipotentiaries of France and England, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, then signed a new treaty with China, by which the two countries were authorized on certain occasions to send ministers to the court of Peking, and it was agreed that China should be represented at the French and English courts. Toleration was secured to the Christian religion; the entrance into Chinese rivers was permitted to French and English merchant vessels; and French and English subjects were allowed to travel freely in China. The Chinese Empire was to pay the expenses of the war. In Chinese official language, the name "barbarians" was no longer to be applied to the European powers. Finally, the conditions of the treaty of Tien-tsin were to be ratified at Peking, within a year from the date of signature, June, 1858.

Lord Elgin had returned to England. His brother, Mr. Frederick Bruce, was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to China. He was instructed to insist upon the literal fulfilment of the stipulation that the treaty should be ratified at Peking, which would be in itself a sign of the important concessions made to the allied powers by the treaty of Tien-tsin. In anticipation of obstacles which might be interposed by the Chinese functionaries, when it was a question of foreigners being permitted to penetrate into the capital of the empire, Mr. Bruce was instructed to have a





PORCELAIN TOWER, PEKIN.



sufficient naval force to make his entry into the river Peiho, and Admiral Hope, naval commander-in-chief in Chinese waters, received orders to furnish Mr. Bruce with the required vessels.

The Peiho rises near the Great Wall of China, and flows in a south-easterly direction into the Gulf of Pe-chee-lee, in the north-east corner of the Chinese territory. Peking, about a hundred miles inland from the mouth of the Peiho, is not built directly upon the river's bank but stands at a distance of several miles, and is connected with the river by a broad canal. Tien-tsin, on the Peiho, is the seaport of Peking, from which it is about seventy miles distant. The entrance to the river is defended by the Takee forts. On the 20th of June, 1859, Mr. Bruce, with the French minister, arrived at the mouth of the Peiho, escorted by nineteen vessels of Admiral Hope's fleet. Three days before, the Chinese authorities had been notified of the approach of the plenipotentiaries, and Admiral Hope's messenger had found the forts defended and the river obstructed. The armed force at work upon the defences declared themselves to be militia, uninstructed in regard to the passage of the envoys, but willing to transmit messages to Tien-tsin and return answers.

Upon the arrival of the envoys in person, it was found that a passage had not been cleared for them; but rather that the defences had been strengthened. An official sent down from Tien-tsin seemed disposed to make delays and the letter of which he was the bearer was not sufficiently respectful, it was thought, towards the great Powers whose representatives it addressed. The English envoy believed that the occasion apprehended by Lord Malmesbury had come,—that the Chinese were designing to interdict to the envoys the entrance into the country; and Mr. Bruce called upon Admiral Hope to open the way for him. On the 25th of June, the admiral attacked the barriers under fire from the forts. The Chinese gunners were more skilful than they had been believed to be. Four of the English

gunboats were quickly disabled, and all got aground; the admiral ordered an attack upon the forts; it was beaten back, and a hundred and fifty men, out of the small attacking force, were killed or wounded. Admiral Hope was wounded himself, and so was also the French officer whose vessel had contributed its contingent to the storming-party. The situation of the allies was critical although they had had the good fortune to be supported in their retreat by an American man-of-war, whose captain could not endure the sight of Europeans destroyed by Chinese. The mission to Peking was necessarily abandoned, and news of the diplomatic and military disaster of the plenipotentiaries of France and England went home to Europe.

The wrath and indignation of the English people was extreme. The Liberals had come into power; Lord John Russell had succeeded Lord Malmesbury in the Foreign Office, and the instructions of the late minister were violently attacked and also the conduct of his envoy. Before the exchange of ratifications the Europeans had not the right to ascend the Peiho, and nothing obliged Mr. Bruce to insist upon taking a route which was specially displeasing to Chinese pride. The Chinese had merely availed themselves of their natural defences, they had not employed perfidy, and the allies had not been the victims of double-dealing. Admiral Hope knew in advance that the river was barred and that the forts were in a state of defence. However, the check received by England and France in attempting to enforce a point of international law, very doubtful though it was, could not be endured for a moment. The two diplomatists who had made the treaty of Tien-tsin, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, were sent back to obtain in one way or another the ratification promised. Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban were placed in charge of the land forces. The naval armament was quite important; and in the spring of 1860, the allies again appeared off the Peiho.

The Chinese were not disheartened ; they showed no signs of weakness, and made a courageous defence ; but this time the attack had been well-planned, the force was sufficient, and the most cordial harmony prevailed between the English and French commanders. The forts were taken, the entrances of the river forced, the European vessels went up as far as Tien-tsin, the troops occupied the city, and the plenipotentiaries at the head of their army advanced upon Pekin. Meantime one Chinese official after another vainly attempted to negotiate and retard the march of the victorious Europeans. Finally Lord Elgin consented to receive the Chinese commissioners at Tung-chow, a walled town, ten or twelve miles below Pekin. The secretaries of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were sent to Tung-chow to make the necessary arrangements for an interview. Mr. Bowlby, the correspondent of the London *Times*, and a few English officers, were also of the party. In returning, the European party was obliged to pass through the lines of a large Chinese force encamped upon the very ground which the Chinese commissioners themselves had designated for the use of the allies. A quarrel occurred between one of the French officers and some Tartar soldiers, and a general mellay ensued. Lord Elgin's secretaries and those of the French minister, with several more of the party,—in all, twenty-six Englishmen and twelve Frenchmen,—were seized by the Chinese soldiers and dragged off to prison, with entire disregard of the fact that they bore a flag of truce, and that they were arranging a conference which had been begged for by the Chinese themselves. Thirteen Englishmen and several of the French officers died from the ill-treatment they had endured. Those who survived all bore traces of the cruelty they had suffered. Lord Elgin at once sent word to the commissioners that negotiations would not be pursued until the captives had been released ; meantime, he advanced rapidly upon Pekin. He was already before the city and about



to force an entrance with his cannon, when Prince Kung, the emperor's brother and plenipotentiary, accepted the terms proposed, and it was only after entering the city that the envoys learned of the murder of the captives.

Within the gates of the city of Peking stood the Summer Palace of the Chinese emperor, an enormous enclosure filled with independent palaces, temples, and pagodas scattered through magnificent pleasure-grounds, which were watered by artificial lakes and rivers, with ornamental bridges and terraces in the greatest variety. Here had been accumulated for ages all the treasures and curiosities which Chinese art was able to produce at the period of its greatest perfection. The emperors had followed one another in this treasure-house of beautiful things, and each had added new embellishments to its magnificence. The French soldiery had already entered and plundered this palace when Lord Elgin, on hearing of the murder of the European captives, resolved to give to all China a terrible proof of the power of the allies and of the vengeance which they would take for acts of treachery like that just committed. Baron Gros did not share in this determination; he did not, however, oppose it; the pillage which he had allowed to the French soldiery effectually barred him from making any remonstrance. By order of Lord Elgin, the Summer Palace of the Emperors of China was given up to the flames, and absolutely destroyed; there, the English prisoners had endured the most cruel outrages, there, a mass of ruins should testify to England's indignation. "This condition," wrote Lord Elgin, "requires no assent on the part of His Highness" (the Chinese plenipotentiary), "because it will be at once carried into effect by the commander-in-chief." Two days were scarcely enough to complete the destruction of the palace. The plunder was immense. General Montauban brought back to France a magnificent collection of Chinese antiquities, acquired for the most part at this time; but pillage was severely prohibited to the English





GARDEN OF THE SUMMER PALACE, PEKIN.



soldiers. When the desolation was completed, a monument was raised on the spot, on which was inscribed in Chinese characters : "Such are the rewards of perfidy and cruelty."

The conduct of Lord Elgin was sharply attacked in England, and as vigorously defended. He himself acknowledged that the capture of the Englishmen was not an act of deliberate treachery on the part of the Chinese. "On the whole," he wrote, "I come to the conclusion that in the proceedings of the Chinese plenipotentiaries and commander-in-chief in this instance, there was that mixture of stupidity, want of straightforwardness, suspicion, and bluster which characterizes so generally the conduct of affairs in this country; but I cannot believe that after the experience which Sang-ko-lin-sin" (the Chinese general-in-chief) "has already had of our superiority in the field, either he or his civil colleagues could have intended to bring on a conflict, in which, as the event has proved, he was sure to be worsted." The lesson which Lord Elgin had inflicted upon the Chinese empire was destined to protect in the future, in the extreme East, those messengers of peace whom all nations have agreed to hold sacred. Violence had presided over all the acts of this war, but in the one which crowned it, that violence brought with it its justification.

The submission of China was complete; the port of Tien-tsin was open to European commerce. Ratifications were exchanged, diplomatic relations formally re-established between China and the European Powers, and the emperor was obliged to pay a heavy war indemnity and also a large sum as compensation to the families of the murdered prisoners. Henceforth China was to have no hidden recesses, inaccessible to the inquisitive traveller; the gates of the Middle Kingdom were to stand open, and ere long a tide of Chinese emigration was to set towards America and even Europe. With the walls of the Summer Palace crumbled the barriers between Orient and Occident.



It was not alone towards the extreme East that, in 1860, military and diplomatic solicitude was directed. In regions less remote than were the vast domains of the Chinese emperor,—upon the slopes of Lebanon, the hostility of races was awakened between the Maronites and the Druses. A Maronite monk was found murdered, the Druses were suspected of the crime, and some of them were assassinated in turn. Anger was kindled on both sides. On the 28th of May, the Maronite villages in the neighborhood of Beyroot were attacked by the Druses, and also a large town, built near the base of Mount Hermon. The Turkish authorities in the town ordered the Maronites to lay down their arms, promising to protect them; the Maronites obeyed, but were abandoned to their enemies, who made an indiscriminate massacre. The Mussulman fury spread from point to point, and in July, Damascus was invaded by a fanatical multitude, who destroyed the consulates of the European Powers and massacred more than two thousand Christians, in spite of the efforts of Abd-el-Kader, himself a resident of Damascus ever since his liberty had been restored by the Emperor Napoleon. The Turkish governor made no serious attempt to put a stop to the massacre. For a long time the Porte had felt a certain distrust of the Maronites, whom it regarded as disposed to shake off the Turkish yoke. The intervention of the great Powers in their favor (1840-41) had contributed to develop this idea. The population of Damascus in some way felt themselves authorized to murder the Christians and pillage their houses.

In 1860, all the great Powers were interested in the re-establishment of order in the Lebanon, for all had suffered outrage in the person of their representatives. France and England were intrusted with the duty of obtaining the reparation which the case demanded. France promised the necessary troops, and England sent out Lord Dufferin as commissioner to deal with the Turkish government. The Porte had become alarmed, and



had shown great resolution in searching out and punishing the offending Druses. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fuad Pasha, was sent to the Lebanon, where he exercised without mercy the unlimited powers intrusted to him. The governor of Damascus and the commander of the Turkish troops were put to death, and about sixty persons with them, who were held to be more or less responsible for what had taken place. On every side were seen the results of their criminal indolence. "At Deir-el-Kamr," wrote Lord Dufferin, "almost every house was burnt, and the street crowded with dead bodies, some of them stripped and mutilated in every possible way. My road led through some of the streets, my horse could not even pass, for the bodies were literally piled up. Most of those I examined had many wounds, and in each case the right hand was either entirely or nearly cut off; the poor wretch, in default of weapons, having instinctively raised his arm to parry the blow aimed at him. I saw little children of not more than four years old stretched on the ground, and old men with gray beards."

The intervention of the great Powers in the affairs of the Lebanon was efficacious in re-establishing peace in Syria. The conference decided that a Christian governor of the Lebanon should be appointed, in subjection to the sultan, it is true, but appointed neither upon the sultan's nomination nor at his desire. In 1861, the French troops evacuated Syria, after their prolonged occupation had begun seriously to disquiet the English nation. The 26th of June, Lord Palmerston wrote to Sir Henry Bulwer, the British ambassador at Constantinople: "I am heartily glad we have got the French out of Syria, and a hard job it was to do so. The arrangement made for the future government of the Lebanon will, I dare say, work sufficiently well to prevent the French from having any pretext for returning thither."

The sultan, Abdul-Medjid, had just died; great hopes were

conceived in respect to his successor. "If the accounts we have heard of the new sultan are true," Lord Palmerston wrote, "we may hope that he will restore Turkey to her proper position among the Powers of Europe."

Yet once more England had come to the aid of her "sick man," while openly acknowledging his feebleness. Turkey had scarcely been permitted to have any voice in the settlement of the Lebanon affair. The new conditions had been imposed upon her by a conference of the great Powers. She yet existed, however, and her independence was recognized in theory, at least, if it was not in practice. Lord Wodehouse announced in Parliament the opinion of government that a new era was dawning upon Turkey. Her weakness and her vitality were destined for many a year yet to astonish Europe, and more than once to disturb its tranquillity.

## CHAPTER XII.

## WESTERN TROUBLES. THE WAR IN THE UNITED STATES.

EUROPE had watched with curiosity the war between England and China; she had been interested in the burning of the Summer Palace; she had been excited for a moment by the report of the massacre at Damascus, and had applauded, first, the generous interference of Abd-el-Kader in favor of the Christians, and afterwards the more efficacious intervention of the great Powers in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire, but she had never felt and she could not feel that interest in the shocks agitating the ancient East which was inspired in her by the war which tore asunder a new country, rapidly grown to be one of the first in the world, and now threatened with being divided into two nations by the result of civil discords unexampled in their duration and bitterness. The whole world looked on in horror at the battles which ravaged America, and the diversity of opinions and impressions in Europe in respect to the two parties thus engaged across the Atlantic in a death-struggle, gave rise to the most complex passions. Nowhere were these sentiments more complicated than in England; nowhere did hidden motives act more manifestly in the form of eloquent arguments and public declamations.

For months the dull rumblings of the coming earthquake had been audible to even the least attentive ears. John Brown, the enthusiastic apostle of abolition, had attempted for the last time an expedition for the purpose of liberating a few slaves; he had been seized at Harper's Ferry, on the confines of Virginia and

Maryland; he had been brought to trial and suffered the penalty of death. He had died bravely, assured of the final success of his cause. "His gibbet," said Victor Hugo, "was to be the Calvary of the abolition of slavery." And the French poet was not in error. The cup of dissensions already full, overflowed by reason of this drop of legal iniquity; the presidential election close at hand would manifestly strengthen the abolitionist party; the southern states believed their existence menaced. The more inconsiderate and fiery of southern leaders demanded a separation; the wiser and more clear-sighted, while encouraging this project which served their designs, had broader and deeper views. They well understood that, in order to maintain its existence, a society founded upon slavery needed not only to be independent, but to be mistress of America.

"In reality, the maintenance of the Union, even under the presidency of the most ardent abolitionist, would have been less dangerous for America than a separation, pure and simple, dividing the United States into two unequal parts: one of these sections would have had a population of eight million whites and four million blacks, supposing it to include all the slave states; the other would have been composed of all the rest of the American Union, that is to say, of the entire mass of the free states, continuing to form, in the federal bond, a united nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific. From friendly or, at least, tolerant associates, they would at once have become formidable rivals and implacable enemies. Drawing from their vast population, from the fruitful principle of useful industry, and from their immense financial resources an irresistible force of colonization, they would have been at every point the victorious rivals of the southern states, hampered by slavery, divided into hostile castes, deprived of the resources which emigration supplies to a new continent. Within a few years, the free states would have completely surrounded the territory occupied



by slavery, and, barring its way to future aggrandizement, would have given it a death-stroke. The vast frontier of the free states would have been everywhere open to fugitives, from the moment that the shameful pact by which the United States agreed to return the fugitive negro had been destroyed with the Union in the name of which it was made. In spite of all artificial hindrances, a double contraband, on one side favoring the escape of the slave, would have brought, on the other, into the South an active abolitionist propaganda to work among an enslaved population whom the slightest gleam of liberty was sufficient to excite. This inevitable consequence of a separation was long ago foreseen by the sagacious mind of M. de Tocqueville, who predicted the moment when slavery would bring on in American affairs a terrible crisis, in the midst of which it would disappear. He therefore counselled the South to remain at all costs faithful to the Union, for, supported by the numerous population of the northern states, they could, he said, quietly abolish slavery, and at the same time preserve their social superiority; whereas, if they should have the whites of the North for enemies, the latter could easily set free their slaves, without their aid and against their will." \*

The southern leaders were not willing to entertain the idea of abolishing slavery, which they regarded as a fundamental institution, indispensable to the existence of society as they conceived it; on the contrary they sought to strengthen and develop the system, and to this end they required the aid of the northern states. This aid they could obtain in two ways: either by reconstructing the Union to their advantage, or by dividing the North so that it should no longer form a compact nation at their side, and that among its fragments the slave

\* *La guerre civile aux États-Unis*, by the Comte de Paris. Vol. I. p. 196.

power might find feeble states always ready to solicit the protection of the South. In order to lay the foundations of this new edifice which they hoped to construct upon the ruins of the Union, the southern leaders of the pro-slavery party took care to insist upon the original constitution prepared by the founders of the country, thus clothing themselves with the mantle of historic and traditional unity. Two important modifications, however, it was necessary for them to introduce, the first recognizing the right of secession, the second proclaiming slavery as an indispensable element in civilized society. In the name of these two new principles, inevitably destructive to the old Union, the South entered upon the struggle whence she hoped the triumph of her cause, and the definitive preponderance of her social theories.

On the 4th of February, 1861, seven of the southern states, having solemnly withdrawn from the Union, sent delegates to a convention at Montgomery, Alabama, with the object of agreeing upon a constitution. The Southern Confederacy was formed,\* and Mr. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi being elected president, announced the determination of the South to maintain her independence by the sword, "if passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or influence the ambition of the North." Two weeks later, Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States. He also had a declaration to make, less aggressive than that of Mr. Davis, but very serious, however, notwithstanding its moderation. Mr. Lincoln announced that he had no intention of interfering with slavery in the states where it already existed, that he had no right to do so, even if he had wished it; but, on the other hand, that no state could by its own act, lawfully sever its connection with the Union, and that all resistance to the established authority of the United States

\* Consisting of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

must be considered insurrectionary or revolutionary. All that Mr. Lincoln claimed was merely the support of the *status quo*; and this proclamation of the principles which were to actuate the conduct of the government, seemed of good augury to the friends of peace. A door even seemed to be opened to pacific negotiations on the subject of the dissolution of the Federal compact. This at least was a prevalent idea in England up to the time when the warlike impetuosity of South Carolina suddenly put an end to all hopes of peace. This state had been the first to proclaim the principle of secession. The inhabitants of Charleston, her capital city, beheld daily just at the entrance of their harbor a little artificial island, upon which the heavy mass of Fort Sumter reared itself. Like all the forts in the land, this post was garrisoned by federal troops, and, in presence of the excitement prevailing in South Carolina, the general government had deemed it advisable to send thither additional troops. The vessel bringing reinforcements was fired upon, and on the 12th of April, the fort itself was bombarded. The little garrison could not oppose any prolonged resistance to the batteries on the shore; it surrendered, and the war was begun.

On the 15th of April, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers to protect the national capital and to suppress such combinations as had been made to resist the enforcement of the laws of the United States. At the same moment, the southern leaders were intriguing to obtain the control in the convention of Virginia, then in session, and at first indisposed to join in the rebellion. This attempt was successful; on the 17th of April, the State of Virginia seceded. Meanwhile, the Confederate government had organized and sent into the field a force of twenty thousand men. The city of Washington was at this time nearly defenceless, but the energy and ardor of the Northern States at once came to its aid. Several companies from Pennsylvania reached Washington on the

16th; the Massachusetts Sixth, a regiment of volunteers, passing through Baltimore, (where they were attacked by a mob) arrived in Washington a few days later; and, being soon followed by others, the capital was speedily in a state of excellent defence.

Immediately upon the fall of Fort Sumter, Mr. Davis issued a proclamation inviting applications for privateering service in which, under letters of marque and reprisal, private vessels might be fitted out to prey upon the commerce of the United States. On the 29th of April he wrote to the Confederate Congress that "it is proposed to organize and hold in readiness for instant action, in view of the present exigencies of the country, an army of one hundred thousand men." Between the 6th and 21st of May, three other states, Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina, solemnly separated from the Union and cast in their fortunes with the Confederacy.

The war opened amid the greatest excitement on both sides: the two parties seemed to be of nearly equal strength. In England, from an instinct of ancient jealousy, of secret rancor, and of commercial rivalry, the general inclination was favorable to the southern cause, a cause morally difficult to defend, but wearing upon its exterior the air of a chivalrous impulse against the oppression and tyranny of the North. "The gentlemen of the South have risen against the northern shopkeepers," said the English newspapers; and the people of England did not stop to inquire whether the southern gentlemen had risen in defence of their personal liberty, or merely in defence of their right to keep their fellow-creatures in slavery; the English nation did not at all measure the sovereign importance of the struggle now beginning in the New World, upon the great question of free labor, or slave labor. The hour was come, in their judgment, when America was about to pay dearly for her separation from the English crown, her abandonment of the mother-country.



Neutrality did not exist in the spirit of the English nation at the time when the English government officially proclaimed it. On the 8th of May, 1861, Lord John Russell announced in Parliament that, after consulting the law-officers of the crown, her Majesty's government were of opinion that the Southern Confederacy must be recognized as a belligerent power. On the 13th of May, neutrality was proclaimed by England, and all English subjects were forbidden to enlist, either for sea or land, in the service of either party, to furnish munitions of war, to equip vessels for privateering, to engage in transport-service, or in any manner to afford assistance either to Federals or Confederates. England thus publicly recognized the existence of the Southern Confederacy. The promptness with which this recognition was made, rendered it still more offensive to the United States. Lord John Russell had not even waited the arrival of the American minister, then daily expected, who had been sent out expressly charged to explain to the English government the condition of affairs beyond sea.

On the other hand, it was urged that this recognition had been made in no spirit unfriendly towards America, but had been rendered imperatively necessary and urgent by a Union measure adopted upon the very outbreak of the war. This was the blockade of the ports of the seceded states, proclaimed by Mr. Lincoln on the 19th of April. The very fact of this proclamation was a recognition by the United States of the Southern Confederacy as a belligerent power, inasmuch as a government cannot blockade its own ports. All that England had done was to accept the situation which the President of the United States had himself admitted. Later, and under the pressure of the growing excitement in England, the English Cabinet was to have great difficulty in supporting this blockade against those who claimed that it ought to be broken in the interests of European commerce. France was even more sympathetic than England in

the cause of the seceded states, and the Emperor Napoleon III. would have very gladly persuaded England to join with him in recognizing the government of the Southern Confederation. But the attitude of the Radical party in the House of Commons, and the general sentiment of the working-classes in favor of the North, held back the Cabinet from this disastrous mistake. France, as well as England, was obliged to content itself with proclaiming its neutrality.

The fortunes of war seemed at this moment to be on the side of the Confederacy. More accustomed than the "shopkeepers" of the North to the duties and fatigues of war, and animated by an ardor which rapidly recruited their ranks, the "gentlemen" of the South had not, however, begun by assuming the offensive. On the 21st of July, General Beauregard, on the plateau of Manassas near a little stream known as Bull Run, awaited the attack of the federal troops, under the command of General McDowell. This officer, who had been in part educated in France, was well informed in the art of war; he knew perfectly that the forces under his command were but a crowd of men just taken from their fields, their workshops, their counting-rooms, and that he needed time to drill them, to discipline them, and to teach them how to employ their courage and their enthusiasm. He saw himself compelled by the exigencies of the situation and the insistence of government to engage at once in the struggle. General Beauregard's position was strong; the result of the battle was doubtful until three o'clock in the afternoon, when reinforcements arrived for the Confederate troops. The Federal army was seized with panic, the defeat became a rout, and, disorganized and demoralized, the survivors retreated upon Washington. The alarm was extreme in the capital, which believed itself once more in danger, and the distress and anger of the North was unbounded. A corresponding triumph was felt through the South, their cause had received the consecra-

tion of victory, and their popularity increased with their success. In France, and still more in England, a cry went up against the weakness and cowardice of "the Yankees." Everywhere, the victory of Bull Run was regarded as the assurance of the ultimate victory of the South.

The men of the North had not lost courage; and they had learned their lesson; they perceived that their forces were not yet ready for battle; time must be spent in preparing them. The very prolongation of the war was in itself useful to the North, richer, more populous, and better able to sustain that long effort, without which all its courage and indomitable perseverance would not be able to triumph over the heroic resolution of the Confederates.

Congress was in session when the battle of Bull Run took place, and it promptly acceded to Mr. Lincoln's request for men and money. It even did more than he asked. Instead of four hundred million dollars and four hundred thousand men, there was placed at his disposal five hundred millions of money, and five hundred thousand men. The first Union army sent into the field, an inconsiderable and ill-prepared force, had been routed by the rebels; in future, the federal government would see to it that its volunteers were well-trained, and the first care was to reorganize those forces which had suffered defeat at Bull Run. On the 25th of July, General McClellan was appointed to reconstruct and organize the army of the Potomac; he acquitted himself of this task with such ability that his soldiers and his operations became the foundation of the great manœuvres of the succeeding campaign. For several months, during this period in which new armies were forming, the war remained in some degree suspended; it was incessantly threatening and imminent, but did not break out in violent activity, for the southern leaders still retained their attitude of defence. Arms as well as armies were being made ready; an indescribable



activity prevailed throughout the United States; everywhere the nation was astir in preparation for the great conflict, wisely accepting the early lesson of the inefficiency of improvised armies and raw levies of volunteers. The people of the northern states, true children of the Puritans, were resolved to endure all things, to put all things at stake, to suffer to the last extremity in this great conflict for supremacy between North and South, beneath which lay the supreme question of slavery, — that slavery once willingly tolerated by the statesmen of the Union as a condition of the federal pact, now sentenced to death by the universal judgment, and making one last and tremendous effort in the struggle of the southern planters, resolved to defend their hereditary possessions as well as the independence of their institutions.

At first sight and from a theoretic point of view, the adherents to the Union had a right to expect and did in fact count upon the sympathy, if not the material support even, of Great Britain. Herself the first to enter on the path of the abolition of slavery, England had persuaded almost all the nations of Europe to follow in it; she was accustomed to reproach her daughter, established beyond the sea, with having retained the blacks in slavery, so long tolerating this stain upon her free institutions. And now, when the United States of America were risking their very existence in the strife which was to destroy the system of slavery, the public voice in England accused the American abolitionists of hypocrisy, and the English government proclaimed its neutrality, while showing itself secretly favorable to the rebels. The indignation of the North against England was all the stronger because France alone, of all the European countries, shared in this unfriendly attitude; through sincere hatred of slavery, or through hatred of rebellion against constituted authorities, the majority of the European states proffered to the American government a sympathy which, if inefficient, was





THE SAN JACINTO STOPPING THE TRENT.



still very sincere. The difficulties which occurred between the United States and England borrowed from this condition of public feeling a bitterness not fully justified by the affairs themselves; the temper of the public mind appeared even in diplomatic communications beneath the customary reserve and moderation of official language.

The first cause of disagreement between the two countries was singularly aggravated by this condition of the public mind on both sides of the Atlantic. The Confederates, not content with the neutrality of England and France, were desirous to obtain the recognition of their independence, and with this end in view they hastened to establish their envoys at the two courts. Mr. Slidell was designated for France, and Mr. Mason for England; escaping the federal cruisers, these two gentlemen made their way to Havana, and there embarked on the 7th of November on board the English mail-steamer, the *Trent*.

The United States sloop-of-war, the *San Jacinto*, was just at this time cruising in the neighborhood of the West Indies in search of the privateer *Sumter*, and Captain Wilkes, her commander, learning that the Confederate agents were on their way to England resolved to intercept them. For this end he posted himself in the Bahama Channel, and on the approach of the *Trent* hailed the English vessel, firing a shot across her bows to bring her to. An armed party then boarded the *Trent*, and after a search took off Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell, against the protest of the English officers. The two emissaries were transferred to the *San Jacinto*, and brought to New York, whence they were taken to Fort Warren, in Boston harbor.

The protection of the English flag had thus been audaciously violated. It had been in past years the custom of England to claim a right of search in the case of neutral ships suspected of carrying contraband of war. The war of 1812 was caused by

the attempt to exercise this right, and Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet at once perceived the dangerous illegality of the act of Captain Wilkes. To all moderate and reasonable minds the question admitted of no doubt. The princes of the House of Orleans, who had come from England with the wish to serve this American cause, dear to their race, urged upon the President and Secretary of State the necessity of reparation and release of the prisoners.

On the 30th of November, Mr. Seward communicated to Mr. Adams, the American minister in London, a statement of the facts, with the assurance that Captain Wilkes had acted without instructions, and that the American government was prepared to discuss the matter amicably. Unfortunately the Secretary of the Navy had not been so prudent, and had officially congratulated Captain Wilkes upon his action. A vote of thanks had also been passed in the House of Representatives; public meetings were held to applaud his conduct, and an enthusiastic crowd followed his footsteps, and cheered him whenever he appeared in public. Captain Wilkes himself was astonished at the public approval, for his first instinct had been that it would be necessary to justify himself.

The news of the insult to the British flag produced throughout England a legitimate indignation. The whole country felt itself injured by this violation of the right of asylum; the entire nation shared in the feeling with which the passengers on board the Trent saw American marines occupying the vessel's deck; neither laws nor precedents were brought up; a complete forgetfulness prevailed in respect to the aggressions of the British navy in the matter of the right of search at the beginning of the century, when Great Britain was the belligerent, and the United States the neutral. The enemies of the American republic, specially numerous in the upper classes, encouraged the public feeling by all means in their power. At their head was Lord



Palmerston, the prime minister, who in spite of his political sagacity had more than once allowed himself to be blinded by his prejudices. After a summary and partial investigation, the crown lawyers had declared that the seizure of the Confederate commissioners was illegal; and the English government hastened to act as if war would at once be necessary. A great display of forces was ordered; the exportation of arms and munitions of war was forbidden; military preparations were hurried forward, and a considerable body of troops at once sent out to Canada. Public opinion insisted upon regarding these troops as sent out to co-operate with the South, and the latter, for their part, felt themselves about to realize all their warmest hopes of English recognition and assistance.

Meantime the two ministers, Lord Lyons and Mr. Adams, were happily able to preserve their prudence and their equanimity; and, the demands of England appearing evidently just, although her attitude was more menacing than the occasion required, President Lincoln and his Cabinet decided to yield to them. On the 26th of December, Mr. Seward addressed a note to Lord Lyons, in which he announced that the persons held in military custody at Fort Warren, would be "cheerfully liberated." He, however, reminded Lord Lyons of the former practice of England herself in regard to neutrals, and expressed his gratification, that Great Britain had at last fully acceded to the American doctrine, that "free ships make free goods." The liberation of the Confederate envoys produced but little feeling in America, and was received with indifference in England. It had become plain to both nations that Messrs. Slidell and Mason had been too much honored by having even for a moment rendered possible a war between England and the United States.

The agitation caused by the Trent affair had scarcely subsided when other and more serious dissensions began to threaten the official good understanding between the two countries. At this

time also, one of the wisest, as well as the most trusted of the queen's advisers, was taken away, an adviser whose last expressed opinion on public affairs is believed to have been a recommendation of patient and moderate measures in the affair of the Trent.

On the 8th of December, Prince Albert was reported to be slightly indisposed, confined to his room by a heavy cold. On the 11th it was announced that his illness, though without unfavorable symptoms, was likely to continue for some time. About midnight on the 14th, all London was surprised and disturbed by a very unusual sound, the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's. The Prince Consort was dead. A few minutes before eleven he had expired, in the presence of his wife and three of his children. His last look had been for the queen, sole and tender object of his love, faithful thenceforward to his memory with a pathetic devotion rare in any station in life. But souls truly touched by love and grief are consoled by no grandeur.

All England wept with their sovereign. It has been already said that Prince Albert had often to suffer from suspicion, that more than once he had seen melt away what degree of popularity had been slowly gained by him; he had been accused of exercising an excessive influence in affairs of state contrary to constitutional principles, and habitually to the detriment of the Liberal cause. But amid all obstacles and under all shadows, the national esteem for him had on the whole gained strength; the purity of his private life, his constant and modest devotion to the public welfare, the moderation and wisdom of his counsels, had by degrees conquered for the Prince Consort the place that he deserved in the public opinion of England. That which he held in the queen's heart had long been known to the nation; consternation equalled regret. In the secret councils of her government the country, as well as the queen,

had lost a safe and disinterested support, a modest and firm guidance, and the English people, as well as the queen, felt this. In the same measure that the happiness had been long and exceptional, did the sudden bereavement appear cruel. Victoria Regina was indeed "an unhappy queen," as she inscribed herself in presenting to M. Guizot a copy of Prince Albert's public addresses.

Distrust had been followed by hostility in the relations between England and the United States. The parade of English forces had offended the American republic; the violation of the English flag had irritated British pride; public sentiment in England still remained divided, but the favor towards the South increased every day, it manifested itself loudly, and penetrated all parties, strengthened as it was by the success which had for the moment signalized the resumption of hostilities. The Liberals even went beyond the Tories in predicting the triumph of the Confederacy. It was a Liberal, Mr. Roebuck, who presented a motion in the House of Commons calling on government to recognize the Confederate States. It was Lord John Russell who attributed to the North, the thirst for empire, to the South, the thirst for independence. It was Mr. Gladstone who exclaimed that President Davis had made an army, had made a navy, still more, had made a nation. By their very existence as an opposition, the Conservatives were impelled to use more moderation in their language; some, however, of the Liberals remained faithful to the principles of their life and of their former party; the Duke of Argyll ardently supported the cause of abolition; Sir George Lewis, Mr. Charles Villiers and Mr. Milner Gibson were favorable to the North; Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright recognized the justice of the war waged for the support of the Union. Even the suffering artisans of Lancashire, reduced to the most frightful distress by the lack of the raw material accumulated in the ports



of the Confederacy, resolutely opposed all measures tending towards breaking the blockade, considering the cotton famine a less evil than the continuance of slavery in America. With the great dumb mass of the working population, the cause of the North was almost everywhere preferred, while all the noise and glitter of public favor were on the side of the South.

This public good-will manifested itself more than once by an indulgence on the part of the English government which amounted to a violation of neutrality. Mr. Gladstone was in error when he said that Mr. Jefferson Davis had made a navy; he had merely ordered and paid for one. The vessels of war themselves had been built in English shipyards; they were manned by English sailors; they frequently sailed under the English flag, only running up the Confederate colors at the moment of combat. Nearly all the privateers which attacked the merchant vessels of the United States during the war of secession had been built in England, under divers pretexts. The English shipbuilders went even further, and constructed iron-clads for the service of the Confederate government, but the sailing of these vessels was, however, prohibited upon the reiterated complaints of Mr. Adams. Against the fitting out of privateers, Lord Russell constantly refused to take any measures. Many of these had inflicted heavy damage upon American commerce. The most conspicuous among these was the *Alabama*, commanded by Captain Semmes, who had formerly been in command of the *Sumter*.

This vessel was destined to play an important part in the relations between England and the United States, and to bring about the decision of a capital point in international law. While the vessel was yet upon the stocks in the Messrs. Lairds' shipyard, Mr. Adams notified the English government that she had been ordered by Mr. Davis for service under the Confederate government. Earl Russell requested proof of this. The United





THE KEARSARGE AND THE ALABAMA.



ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.



States minister had provided himself with the legal opinion of an eminent English jurist to the effect that the permitted construction of this vessel was a flagrant violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act; Lord Russell still hesitated, and in his turn asked legal advice, which not being promptly given, the Alabama was, meantime, completed; she sailed out of the Mersey well equipped and well manned, and set forth upon her destructive career, during which she captured nearly seventy Northern vessels. These captured vessels were, in general, set on fire. More than once the light of this conflagration at sea served to attract other ships to their destruction, the humane instinct of the sailor leading him to hasten to offer assistance, and so bringing him straight towards the Alabama, yet cruising near the burning wreck.

Usually Captain Semmes kept away from the armed vessels of the United States. Once he engaged with a small blockading vessel, the Hatteras, and sunk her in a few minutes; a second encounter of this sort proved fatal to the privateer. Her antagonist was the ship-of-war Kearsarge; the encounter took place off Cherbourg, and in an hour the Alabama was sunk. Captain Semmes being taken off by an English yacht, was carried to England, where for a short time he enjoyed immense popularity.

For two years the Alabama had roved the seas, destroying American commerce, until finally ship-owners became unwilling to send out their vessels. She was now gone; the waves swept above her shattered hull; but the damage she had inflicted upon American commerce and the claims of the American government for indemnification, kept her memory fresh in the minds of all. Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston entrenched themselves behind the doctrine of the rights of neutrals, and the fact that a few British subjects had been secretly enlisted for the Union service. The relative unimportance of this latter

plea remained indisputable; as did the indifference of the English authorities in respect to the harm done by privateering, sometimes changing indeed into cordial sympathy towards these enterprises of the Confederacy.

This controversy was destined to be protracted for many years, and to be complicated with divers incidents. It was to pass from the hands of the Liberals into those of the Tories, more equitable judges of the question, and finally, under Mr. Gladstone's ministry, terminate by the arbitration of an international tribunal in session at Geneva, whose decision, pronounced in 1872, was contrary to the claims of England. The indemnity which Great Britain was obliged to pay amounted to about three millions sterling, and even this was but a small part of the damage inflicted by the Alabama upon American commerce.

The tribunal of arbitration consisted of five persons, to be respectively appointed by the Queen, the President of the United States, the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation, and the Emperor of Brazil. It was provided for by the Treaty of Washington (May 8, 1871). The importance of the decision reached was extreme. From the beginning the English plenipotentiaries who negotiated the Washington treaty openly acknowledged that the American claims should rightfully be regarded as national, in this respect taking a different ground from that on which in 1870, Lord Clarendon and Mr. Reverdy Johnson had negotiated a settlement which the United States refused to accept. The English commissioners expressed also "the regret felt by her Majesty's government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the Alabama and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels." The principles which were to preside over the arbitration were then summed up as follows: "A neutral government is bound, first,



to use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping within its jurisdiction of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a Power with which it is at peace, and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction to warlike use; secondly, not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men; thirdly, to exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties." The English commissioners took the precaution to declare that these principles of international law were now for the first time established, but they agreed to decide the claims arising from the Alabama question in accordance with them, and also "to observe these rules between themselves in future, and to bring them to the knowledge of other maritime Powers, and to invite them to accede to them."

The result of the Geneva arbitration was not well received in England, and Mr. Gladstone's influence was considerably impaired by it. It had, however, established an equitable principle, and definitively settled an important question of the reciprocal duties of nations. The Trent affair had given a ratification to the decisions of the Paris Congress in respect to the flag of neutrals; the affair of the Alabama was the basis of an important negotiation ended by a treaty which did honor to all the contracting parties. The concessions made by England were just and proper; the United States on their side withdrew their "indirect claims." In 1862, Mr. Adams prudently dropped the question of the Alabama; when, after the triumph of the Union

cause and the subsidence of public feeling in England, the subject recurred, justice and moderation gained the victory over the excitement and exasperation of the earlier time.

In 1862 and 1863, the public feeling was more excited than ever, and the efforts of the South were persistent to obtain a recognition of the Confederate government. The Emperor Napoleon had for a long time been favorable to this idea, which in his mind was connected with certain vague, ambitious projects of his own. As early as 1861, he had engaged England and Spain in a diplomatic convention on the subject of Mexico. The state of anarchy which had for some years prevailed in that country had been the cause of various wrongs committed against foreign subjects, a redress of which was now claimed by the European governments. The power was at this time in the hands of Benito Juarez, a man as violent and corrupt as his predecessors, but more energetic in outward appearance, and especially desirous of being on good terms with the established governments of Europe. In pursuance of this design, he had pledged himself to the payment of certain indemnities, promising to make over for this purpose a part of the customs revenues. These indemnities, however, had not been paid, and the Emperor Napoleon availed himself of this pretext to claim from Spain and England the fulfilment of the agreement into which they had entered. The protection of foreign subjects and their most pressing interests required, it was said, a military demonstration.

The position of affairs in America gave reason to expect a final separation of the Northern and Southern States; nothing was to be feared in the way of intervention; the allied expedition, therefore, set sail. The English contingent was small. The projects of the Emperor Napoleon began already to excite suspicion. It was no longer a question of redressing the grievances of the foreign subjects resident in Mexico. But even here







PARK IN THE CITY OF MEXICO.



the claims of France proved too aggressive. The emperor had extended his protection to a M. Jecker, a banker of Swiss origin, who claimed from the Mexican government an enormous sum, as payment of a debt which was in part fictitious. These unjust claims France supported with decision. The Emperor Napoleon was dazzled by the old traditions of Mexican treasures; the men who surrounded him were greedy of gain; financial schemes were mingled with historic reminiscences and illusive theories of the dominant destiny of the Latin races. Napoleon resolved to found in Mexico a new empire which should be closely bound to him by all the claims of gratitude and the necessities of weakness. He offered the crown to Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, a brave, ambitious, and imaginative man; the ambition of the Archduchess Carlotta, daughter of Leopold I., King of the Belgians, took fire at the thought of imperial dominion; the archduke accepted, running blindly to his ruin.

The demonstration against Mexico became a war of invasion, from which England and Spain at once withdrew, renouncing an alliance which had led them into an enterprise contrary as well to their views as to their interests. One French army corps after another was sent out to strengthen the invasion. Juarez was defeated, Pueblo taken, and the city of Mexico occupied, at immense cost of men and money; the Emperor Maximilian was proclaimed in the capital of his new empire, while French soldiers surrounded the sovereign to protect him from his new subjects.

The United States protested against the establishment of the Mexican monarchy, or rather against the French intervention which had founded it. Mexico had long been the object of their own desire, as was proved by the expedition of 1847. The Emperor Napoleon paid no heed to their protest; he counted upon the triumph of the Confederacy and

its good-will towards him in return for his constant sympathy. Meanwhile, however, affairs were changing their aspect in America. After their long and courageous efforts, after disasters so many times repeated that they had at last shaken the confidence of even the firmest partisans of the American Union, the soldiers of the North were at last gaining the advantage. General Meade had won the victory of Gettysburg, (July, 1863); simultaneously the stronghold of Vicksburg, on the Mississippi, had surrendered to General Grant. At that very time Mr. Roebuck's motion for the recognition of the Confederacy was before the House of Commons. But it did not come to a division. In the fashionable world of London the news of the Southern disasters was received for a time with incredulity; but the evidence became overwhelming, and the hopes lately so confident now faded gradually away. The decisive moment had passed, and though the war was by no means at an end, the ultimate defeat of the Confederates was no longer doubtful, every day bringing them new disasters. English opinion, however, still supported them with a sympathy colored by self-interest; the English press kept alive the obstinate illusions of the public mind. As late as the 31st of December, 1864, the *Times* complained that "Mr. Seward and other teachers or flatterers of the multitude still affect to anticipate the early restoration of the Union."

On the 3d of April, 1865, the Confederate capital was occupied by the Union forces, and within two weeks from that time General Lee had surrendered, and President Davis was captured. The Confederacy was destroyed, the American Union re-established, and the emancipation of the blacks, a measure which had been forced by the exigencies of the war, was henceforth an established fact. And now, the United States, bleeding, exhausted, but victorious, and sure of the speedy return of their national prosperity, had leisure to look about them, and to un-

undertake the redressal of the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of foreign Powers; and they commenced by signifying to the Cabinet of the Tuileries that a longer occupation of Mexico by French troops could not be permitted. The Emperor Napoleon withdrew his army. Two months later the Mexican empire fell before the republican forces, Maximilian paid with his life for the brief and barren honor he had received, and, as a final stroke of misery in this sad incident, the Archduchess Carlotta, beloved daughter of the most sagacious prince in Europe, lost her reason at the news of her husband's death, and was brought home to the palace of her family, there to drag out a miserable and hopeless existence.

The Mexican expedition had resulted fatally for Maximilian and his royal wife; it had also the effect of deepening the abyss which already yawned beneath the feet of the French emperor. The frivolity, imprudence, and incapacity so long hidden under a brilliant fortune began at last to be revealed. England became alarmed at the ambitious projects which she perceived forming in her neighborhood, her armaments were increased, and the distrust which she felt towards France grew stronger day by day. Lord Palmerston at last yielded to this national sentiment which he had resisted for so many years. More than any other English statesman he had contributed to render the Emperor of the French secure upon his throne: now, when age had abated his natural ardor without abating that dominant passion for the exclusive interests of England which gave him his strength, and had been almost always the cause of his errors, the octogenarian prime minister seconded, to the utmost of his ability, the efforts of the country in view of a possible invasion by the French. England was making ready the weapons which she was not to be obliged to use, and Lord Palmerston looked on approvingly; the country, he said, had now got rid of an apathetic blindness on the part of the



governed and the governors, as to the defensive means of England compared with the offensive means acquired and acquiring by other Powers.

While still expecting the final destruction of the American Union, England had not, however, remained an uninterested observer of the numerous incidents transpiring afar off in the colonies, whither the bold subjects of Great Britain had gone to seek the space and the wealth which the narrow territory of their own island denies them. In 1862-3, these slight wars with barbarous tribes occupied attention, if they did not excite uneasiness, in England. In Australia, in Africa, and in Japan, English subjects were molested.

The native population of New Zealand are a numerous, intelligent, and resolute race. A tribe of Maoris, living near Auckland, had risen in insurrection, and the movement soon became general throughout the Maori nation. The encroachments of the colonists had long been a cause of irritation to the natives, themselves skilled in agriculture, and jealous of their possessions. They were also so well versed in the principles of attack and defence that, at the outset, they gave the English troops a somewhat serious repulse. They were, of course, defeated at last; and the legislature of New Zealand naturally justified the colonists. A vast amount of native lands were confiscated, and a dictatorial power over the native inhabitants was conferred upon the governor, Sir George Grey. The guarantee of a loan to cover the expenses of the war was hotly discussed in Parliament, but finally passed. Mr. Roebuck set forth as a theory the practical fact, that wherever the savage and the white man met, the savage must disappear. The Maoris had not as yet accepted this necessity, but they were conquered and reduced to submission at England's expense.

The King of the Ashantees was even less willing to be reduced to obedience. Some of his slaves had fled into British



territory, and the governor of the Cape Coast Colony refused to give them back. The king raised troops, invaded the territory of neighboring chiefs, and was drawing near the frontier of the English Colony. Upon this the English governor, anticipating the probable invasion, sent a body of troops into Ashantee. It was during the pestilential heats of spring, and even the black troops from the West Indies could not endure the unhealthiness of the climate. The mortality was soon so great that it became necessary to withdraw the troops, leaving the king to express his triumph by practising horrible cruelties upon his subjects and his neighbors. Government obtained but the very smallest majority in the vote taken in the House of Commons, after a discussion of this expedition.

In 1862, the kingdom of Japan was upon the eve of a revolution destined to shake to its foundations the ancient order of its social life, to open its gates to Europeans, and to bring in the germs of a new civilization worthy of the most intelligent nation of the extreme East. The old restrictions were, however, still in force for the most part, and at the few points where they had given way, extreme bitterness of feeling guarded the ancient state of things. The English had establishments in Japan, and the right to move about freely within certain limits. A British subject, Mr. Richardson, was assassinated in September, 1862, within the territory open to Englishmen. The assassins belonged to the household of Prince Satsuma, one of the most powerful among the great feudal lords who divided the authority of the kingdom with the established government. Reparation was demanded both from the government and from the prince personally. The government yielded to the demand of the English *chargé d'affaires*, Colonel Meade, but Satsuma made no reply. On the 11th of August, 1863, Admiral Kuper, naval commandant, entered the bay of Kagosima, Satsuma's capital, with his squadron, to obtain satisfaction. No steps were

taken by the Japanese prince, and the admiral seized a few vessels; upon this the forts protecting the town fired upon him. The admiral at once bombarded the city; the buildings were mostly of wood, and, taking fire from the bombardment, were nearly all consumed. Satsuma then decided to pay the indemnity and promised justice upon the murderers. Severe attacks were made in England upon the admiral's conduct, but government had a majority in supporting him. The bombardment of Kagosima seemed to be the only resource of the English admiral; time was given for the women and children to be withdrawn; and the burning of the town was to be regarded as an accident.

Amid these lesser warlike incidents, which were attracting the attention and exciting the interest of England, and amid the excitement caused by the desperate struggles of the American war, there occurred suddenly the explosion of another rebellion, which gained for itself the sympathies of almost all the world, without, however, presenting to any considerate mind, the slightest prospect of success. In 1863, all Poland rose once again against Russian tyranny. As had been the case many years before in La Vendée, the rigors of an odious conscription gave the signal for the outbreak of an insurrection which had been long seething. The young men liable to conscription escaped to the woods and there formed armed bands. Profiting by the indulgence of Austria, which country has been always more favorable to Poland than were Russia and Prussia, her associates in the partition of that kingdom, the Polish insurgents from time to time crossed the frontier to escape from the Russian troops, returning again when they were in a position to resume their guerilla warfare. The effort of the Polish insurrection was merely to prolong the strife until the great Powers, for whose support they hoped, should at last decide to interfere.

For a moment the Polish patriots might have believed their

cause successful with France and England. The excitement in France was extreme; a sympathy for Poland had always been very strong in that country; from every quarter partisans made themselves heard. M. de Montalembert pleaded the cause of this "nation in mourning, begging that its country be given back to it." Prince Napoleon in the Senate urged the duty of a prompt intervention; Count Walewski pleaded the same cause in the intimate councils of the emperor. But the latter was unable to enter alone upon the struggle; Mexico weighed yet upon France, a burdensome and expensive folly.

England seemed upon the point of responding in her turn to the hopes of the Poles. Lord Russell addressed to Russia a note, in which France and Austria concurred, recommending to the Russian government a scheme of pacification for Poland, under the following heads: complete amnesty, a national representation, a national administration of Poles for Poland, liberty of conscience, official use of the Polish language, and the establishment of a regular system of recruiting. The friends of Poland, both on the Continent and in England, entertained the hope that in the very probable event of a peremptory refusal on the part of Russia to accept these recommendations, England, France and Austria would feel themselves obliged to take up arms in behalf of Poland.

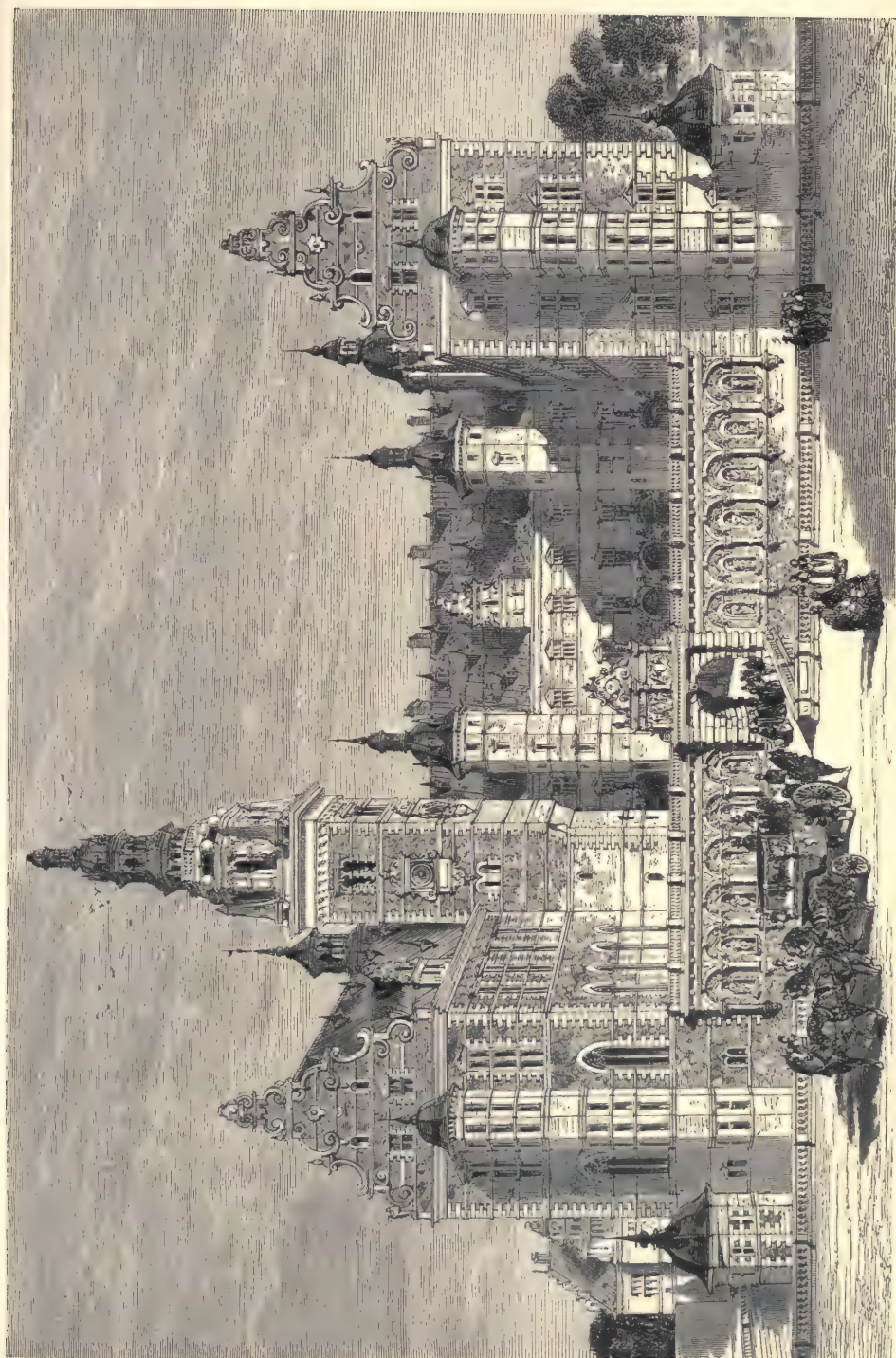
Bitter and oft-repeated illusion! Lord Palmerston had made no difficulty at Lord Russell's manifestation in favor of Poland; he was personally sympathetic with the Polish cause, and had no great liking for Russia, but he had now come to dread the Emperor Napoleon's ambition and to seek everywhere traces of the latter's machinations. The French might choose to occupy the Rhenish provinces under pretext of holding Prussia in check; the occupation might be followed by annexing them; Lord Palmerston was determined to furnish no pretext for any invasion of this kind. Prince Gortschakoff's response to the



English note was firm and positive. "The Emperor Alexander understood perfectly the responsibility he had incurred," said the Russian minister, "the Polish insurrection was the outbreak of a cosmopolitan revolution which menaced all the governments of Europe." The old Russian bitterness was discernible in all the words as well as in all the acts of repression and of oppression. Once more Poland fell into the hands of her tyrants, rendered implacable by the fear they had for a moment felt in respect to a European intervention — an intervention which was, in fact, impracticable, and of which it would have been far wiser never to hold out the hope. The Polish insurrection went out, therefore, in the silence of death, of exile and of prison, while there arose in Europe a new question of peace or war, a new cause of discord, dissension, and oppression.

For a long time the possession by Denmark of the duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg and Schleswig, had been to Germany the cause of an irritation largely theoretic, founded upon the deceitful principle of the unity of races and languages which has been the cause of so much injustice and has served as the pretext of so many unscrupulous ambitions. As Duke of Holstein and Lauenburg, the King of Denmark had, of old, a seat in the Imperial Diet, and his rule over the duchies was much the same as had been that of the English kings over Hanover. The King of Denmark had not, however, that dominant sympathy for this portion of his states which the English sovereigns of the House of Hanover felt for their electorate. On the contrary, it was rather the royal desire to absorb these states into the monarchy, while it was the ambition of the Schleswig-Holstein provinces to enjoy a more independent existence, ruled, it is true, by the King of Denmark, but after the manner in which the kingdom of Hungary is ruled by the Emperor of Austria. In Germany, and in the depths of the soul of Count Bismarck — that grand schemer who had not as yet unveiled either the boldness of his views or the





ROYAL PALACE AT COPENHAGEN.



fatal extent of his abilities — it was believed that the duchies would one day become, not merely German, but Prussian.

Frederick VII., King of Denmark, died in November, 1863. He left no children, and the succession to the throne fell, as had been settled by the treaty of London in 1852, to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg. The Prince of Holstein-Augustenburg, however, claimed the succession to the duchies, which right had been renounced by his father at the time of the European convention. The pretext was favorable for a separation of the duchies from the Danish monarchy. The sentiment of Germany was in accord with Count Bismarck's secret designs. Prussia championed the rights of the Duke of Augustenburg. The question came before the Germanic Diet, the King of Denmark refused to accept the conditions offered him, and was driven to the alternative of war. Austria and Prussia undertook the carrying on of hostilities, and the little kingdom of Denmark found itself alone opposed to these two great military powers.

The hopes of Denmark depended entirely upon England, who had many times advised them in the management of their affairs, and whose heir-apparent had very lately contracted marriage with the eldest daughter of the new King of Denmark. Repeatedly the counsels of the English ministry had availed to procure for the duchies an indulgent and equitable treatment, which they otherwise would not have received at the hands of the Danish government, while, in accepting the advice and sanction of England, the Danes had regarded themselves as sure of her protection.

A few words by Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons, on the 23d of July, 1863, when the storm which was about to burst upon Denmark had begun to threaten in the horizon, had seemed to set the seal to the hopes entertained by Denmark: "We are convinced — I am convinced, at least — that if any violent attempt were made to overthrow the rights, and interfere



with the independence of Denmark, those who made the attempt would find in the result that it would not be Denmark alone with which they would have to contend." The hour of peril had now arrived; the attempt was in process of execution; the Austrian and Prussian armies had entered Schleswig and Holstein; the Danes were fighting desperately against overwhelming odds, and England did not raise her hand in defence of them. In England public opinion was strongly in favor of Denmark, and the public indignation broke out everywhere, but the English government would not enter alone into the struggle; England had need of the French alliance, of the weight and influence of France in Europe. The same firmness of attitude, the same resolution with which the two allies entered upon the Crimean war, would in this case have very probably sufficed to arrest the impulse of German ambition; the question would have become one of diplomacy rather than of war; but the Emperor Napoleon had not recovered from his irritation at the coldness of England in the Polish question a few months before, and at the jealousy she had allowed to appear in respect to his possible designs upon the Rhenish provinces; he therefore refused to join in the action of the English government, and the English government relinquished all thought of intervention in behalf of Denmark. "The truth is," wrote Lord Palmerston to Lord Russell, "that to enter into a military conflict with all Germany on continental ground would be a serious undertaking. If Sweden and Denmark were actually co-operating with us, our 20,000 men might do a great deal; but Austria and Prussia could bring 200,000 or 300,000 into the field, and would be joined by the smaller German states." England therefore contented herself with an isolated and necessarily inefficacious diplomatic action in the affair; and in spite of their efforts and of the transports of joy with which their naval victory off Heligoland was received in England, the Danes were soon crushed. A suspension of arms was agreed



upon, and a conference of the great Powers was called together at London.

The population of the duchies speedily became aware that their independence had never been at all considered in the case, and that they had merely passed from the hands of one master into those of another, who would probably be even less considerate of their rights. The delegates which the duchies sent to London were refused a seat in the conference. In the end, the Danes rejected all proposals for a settlement; and the war recommenced. Finally, however, it was with Prussia herself that Denmark consented to negotiate. Europe had allowed a little nation to be crushed. One of the two conquerors was soon to receive the bitter wages of injustice. The successes of the principal oppressor had not yet reached their culminating point.

England's pride, as well as her sense of right, was deeply wounded. Lord Malmesbury, in Lord Derby's absence, proposed a resolution censuring the Cabinet, and it was carried by a majority of nine. In the House of Commons Mr. Disraeli, on the 4th of July, 1864, offered a similar resolution. He called upon the House to express its regret that "while the course pursued by her Majesty's government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the capitals of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace." The eloquent leader of the opposition attacked the weakness and inconsistency of the Cabinet with much skill. "Yes," he exclaimed, "France is equally responsible; and how comes it then that the position of France in relation to Denmark is so free from embarrassment, and so dignified, that no word of blame is uttered anywhere in Europe against France for what she has done in regard to Denmark, while your position is one of infinite perplexity, — while you are everywhere accused and unable to

defend yourselves? How could this be but because of some fatal mistake, some terrible mismanagement?"

Mr. Disraeli had not, however, correctly estimated the address and vigor of his adversary. Mr. Kinglake presented an amendment which gave the ministry an opportunity to evade the difficulty, and the opportunity was skilfully seized. Lord Palmerston closed the debate by a speech, in which, very soon dismissing the question of the Danish war and the hopes which he had raised only to disappoint, he brought before the House the entire policy of his administration, calling attention to the financial triumphs of Mr. Gladstone, and interposing the latter's name as a shield to ward off the blows which he had reason to dread from the extreme Liberals. The question was no longer one of foreign policy, of intervention or non-intervention, but of the existence of the Cabinet, of Lord Palmerston's power, still more of that of Mr. Gladstone. The Liberals rallied around the government, and Mr. Disraeli's motion was rejected by a majority of eighteen votes. For the last time the voice of Lord Palmerston had gained the victory in the House of Commons, where he had sat for nearly sixty years. Already he had been forced to call to his aid the name of another; another chief was coming forward to seize the authority about to drop from his hands. The new elections were preparing; many places were vacant in the parties as well as in society. The ranks were thinner of those names and acts that had made their country famous. They were destined to be thinned still more.

Sir James Graham died in October, 1861; Mr. Sidney Herbert (late Lord Herbert of Lea), had preceded him by a few months. Sir George Lewis died in 1863; Lord Elgin, and his predecessors in the government of India,—Lord Dalhousie and Lord Carnarvon,—were also dead. In 1864, the Duke of Newcastle died. Most of these statesmen were still comparatively young, "swept

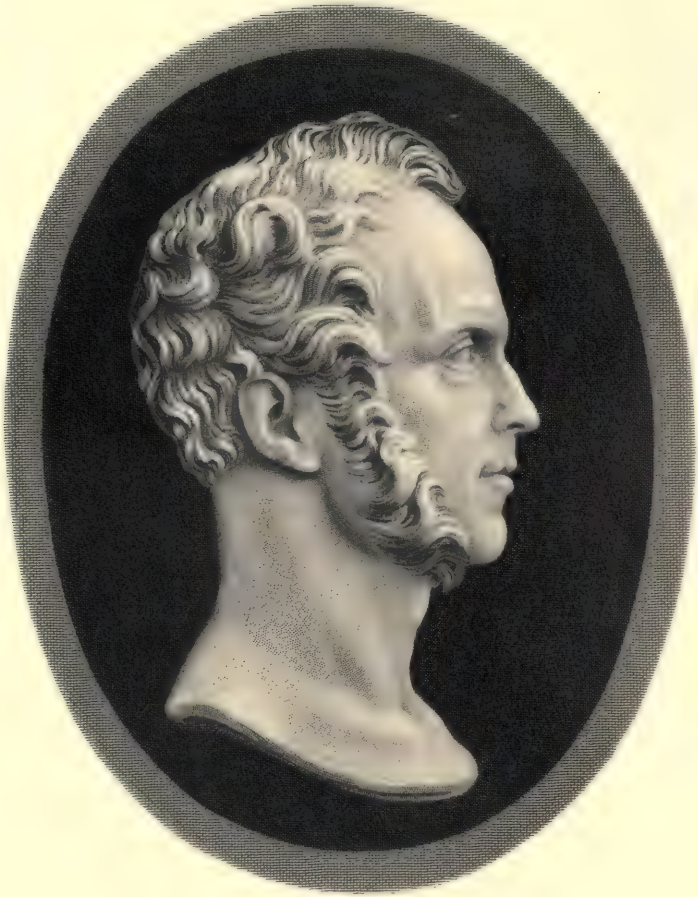
away," said Mr. Gladstone in a speech made at Glasgow, "in the full maturity of their faculties, and in the early stages of middle life—a body of men strong enough of themselves in all the gifts of wisdom and knowledge, of experience and of eloquence, to have equipped a Cabinet for the service of the country." In the month of February, 1865, died also Cardinal Wiseman, for many years actively occupied in the service of the Roman Catholic church in England, and caring but little for the popular clamor raised against him. A few weeks after this (April 2), Mr. Cobden expired, leaving to all, both friends and enemies, the conviction that the life just ended had been noble and pure, and that his death was indeed a public calamity. In the new Parliament about to assemble, new men were destined to fill the places left vacant by these their illustrious predecessors.

Once more the prime minister had witnessed the assembling of a new Parliament. He had witnessed a Liberal victory, more decided and conspicuous than he himself would have wished. The democratic tendency of the times had always caused him alarm; the Tories knew and felt that Lord Palmerston's authority was henceforth the only barrier against the advancing waves of reform. Meantime the minister was failing daily, the session of 1865 rarely saw him at his post, and when he did attend, he was evidently ill and weary. His physical as well as intellectual vigor had already lasted beyond the usual limits of human strength. To the last he bore the burden of public affairs, but evidently now bent under it. The news of his severe illness reached London on the 17th of October, 1865; for some time he had suffered from the gout, the disease had now fastened upon the vital organs, and on the following day he was dead, close upon the completion of his eighty-first year. He fell on the field of battle where he had fought all his life. The policy of conservatism lost in England one of its firmest adherents. In

foreign affairs and European policy, age had abated his excessive and often injudicious ardor; he had served his country with an intense and steady passion which sometimes blinded him in respect to the legitimacy of the measures he employed and the result toward which he was tending. Solely concerned with the present success of England and her interests of the moment, he had more than once contributed by his unscrupulousness to lower the moral level of diplomatic relations in Europe. Fortune had habitually served him; his faults were in great part forgotten. England remembered the unbounded devotion he had always been ready to put at the service of that national sentiment which he obeyed without ever seeking to direct it. The regrets that he inspired were sincere, and the honors paid him were worthy of those regrets. A new era was beginning in the political destinies of England, and no man, whatever his party, could fail to be aware of the approaching changes.







*Palmerston*

## CHAPTER XIII.

INSURRECTION IN JAMAICA. CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES.  
AFFAIRS AT HOME. THE ERYTHREAN WAR.

THE Cabinet changes caused by Lord Palmerston's death were important. Lord Russell became Prime Minister, and Lord Clarendon Foreign Secretary. It was to the House of Commons that the parliament took place. Mr. Gladstone became the leader of the Liberal party; the old Whigs as well as more recent recruits were still hesitating as to the leader of radicalism; Lord John Russell, raised to the peerage in July, 1841, had been thus withdrawn from all rivalry in the House of Commons with Mr. Gladstone, and henceforth the latter was to stand face to face with Mr. Disraeli, as his great opponent both as orator and in statesmanship. All return towards the Conservatives was now cut off for Mr. Gladstone; the University of Oxford, so long faithful to him, had nominated Mr. Gathorne Hardy at the last election, and Mr. Gladstone now represented South Lancashire. That which he soon after said, speaking of the Cabinet: "The Babylon is passed; the ships have been burned; the bridges have been broken down," was yet more true of himself. Mr. Gladstone was destined henceforth to march at the head of the boldest reformers, without permitting himself to be deterred either by the memory of his past success, or by the astonished indignation of his former friends.

But Russell had not yet relinquished, however, the leadership of his party upon the question which had been the guiding star of his life, amidst the almost regular alternations of the parliamentary tide which had so many times swept him into or



*Palmerston*



## CHAPTER XIII.

INSURRECTION IN JAMAICA. CONTINENTAL CHANGES.  
AFFAIRS AT HOME. THE ABYSSINIAN WAR.

THE Cabinet changes caused by Lord Palmerston's death were unimportant. Lord Russell became Prime Minister, and Lord Clarendon, Foreign Secretary. It was in the House of Commons that the revolution took place. Mr. Gladstone became the leader of the Liberal party; the old Whigs as well as more recent recruits were still hesitating on the border of radicalism; Lord John Russell, raised to the peerage in July, 1861, had been thus withdrawn from all rivalry in the House of Commons with Mr. Gladstone, and henceforth the latter was to stand face to face with Mr. Disraeli, as his great opponent both in oratory and in statesmanship. All return towards the Conservatives was now cut off for Mr. Gladstone; the University of Oxford, so long faithful to him, had returned Mr. Gathorne Hardy at the last election, and Mr. Gladstone now represented South Lancashire. That which he soon after said, speaking of the Cabinet: "The Rubicon is passed; the ships have been burned; the bridges have been broken down," was yet more true of himself. Mr. Gladstone was destined henceforth to march at the head of the boldest reformers, without permitting himself to be deterred either by the memory of his past career, or by the astonished indignation of his former friends.

Earl Russell had not yet relinquished, however, the leadership of his party upon the question which had been the guiding star of his life, amidst the almost regular alternations of the parliamentary tide which had so many times swept him into or

out of power. The Reform Bill of 1832 had been his first triumph; he aspired to crown his parliamentary career by a new Reform, demanded, in his judgment, by the progress of liberal ideas, as well as by the development of popular prosperity and enlightenment. The moment, however, was not propitious for a measure of importance; the House had just met, after the expenses and excitement of the general elections, and men were not disposed to undergo at once the shocks which a Reform Bill might involve. Lord Russell did not regard these secondary considerations; he counted upon the decisive action of all the supporters of Reform in Parliament and in the country. He was occupied in the preparation of a bill when the news of insubordination in Jamaica, and of the measures taken to repress it, came suddenly, absorbing the attention of all, and turning away all thoughts from the theoretic question of an electoral law. In an English colony, where the mother-country had of her own will broken the yoke of slavery, negro insurrection had been suppressed with a severity at which all men stood appalled. To the first reports of the disturbances were soon added details of the vindictive pursuit which had followed the first legitimate and justifiable measures of repression. Letters of officers stationed in Jamaica depicted without reserve the rigid enforcement of martial law. "I visited," wrote an officer to his superior, "several estates and villages. I burnt seven houses in all, but did not even see a rebel. On returning to Golden Grove in the evening, sixty-seven prisoners had been sent in by the Maroons. I disposed of as many as possible, but was too tired to continue after dark. On the morning of the 24th, I started for Morant Bay, having first flogged four and hung six rebels. I beg to state that I did not meet a single man upon the road up to Keith Hall; there were a few prisoners here, all of whom I flogged, and then proceeded to Johnstown and Beckford. At the latter

place I burnt seven houses and one meeting-house ; in the former four houses." Another writes: "We made a raid with thirty men, flogging nine men and burning their negro houses. We held a court-martial on the prisoners, who amounted to about fifty or sixty. Several were flogged without court-martial, from a simple examination. This is a picture of martial law. The soldiers enjoy it ; the inhabitants here dread it. If they run on their approach, they are shot for running away."

A colored man named George William Gordon, a member of the Colonial Assembly, a Baptist, and a person of some influence with the negro population, had been accused of stirring up sedition. He surrendered himself to the governor at Kingston, and was placed on board a government vessel and carried to Morant Bay, where martial law had been proclaimed. He had a summary trial, was found guilty, and was immediately hanged. There were no more rebels, but the punishments continued. The public voice was raised in indignation against the governor, and the colonial secretary sent out a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the matter.

The abolition of slavery in Jamaica had left the colony in a condition both enfeebled and agitated. The troubles of 1839 recurred over and over again ; the colored population, naturally on bad terms with their former masters, could always depend upon the support of the officers of the crown, of the government and council ; the interests of the planters were represented by the elective assembly. The bad condition of many estates left uncultivated after the cessation of slave labor, had caused a cession to the blacks of a considerable extent of territory, which they had been authorized to cultivate on condition of paying the arrears of quit-rent due to the crown. In one or more cases, however, the actual owner had endeavored to repossess himself of his lands ; the negroes had resisted, and the case had been brought before a legal

tribunal. Meanwhile, a general anxiety prevailed among the planters, and a dread of one of those negro insurrections which more than once have terrified the colonies with their unspeakable horrors. Military precautions had been taken, and no sooner did the negroes, armed with sticks and knives, present themselves before the court house at Morant Bay, than the volunteer troops were there to receive them. The force, however, was not sufficient; the court-house was set on fire, eighteen persons were killed and thirty wounded. Upon this, a general disturbance broke out through the neighborhood, which subsided at once upon the arrival of a small force of regulars, sent by the governor; and the negroes who had been concerned in the outbreak fled in every direction. Such were the facts of the "insurrection," as established before the commission sent out from England.

The chastisement inflicted was out of all proportion to the offence; it could be explained only by the alarm with which the white population, always a very small minority, habitually regarded the subject of an insurrection of the negroes, who were in this case excited not only by the wrongs of which they complained in the matter of the land, but also by a liberty to which they were not yet fully accustomed. The Governor of Jamaica, Mr. Edward John Eyre, was a brave and intelligent man. He had been a successful explorer in Australia, and a resident magistrate there, also Lieutenant-Governor in New Zealand and the Leeward Islands, and everywhere had been esteemed an upright and kindly-tempered man.

Yielding to the influence of the local terror, Governor Eyre had proclaimed martial law throughout the island, with the exception only of the city of Kingston. According to the report made by the commission, four hundred and thirty-nine persons were put to death, and more than six hundred suffered the cruel penalty of flogging, most of them, without any pro-



cess of law whatever. A thousand houses were burned. The commission, in its report, declared that the punishments were excessive, and the repression cruel. Chief-Justice Cockburn declared that there was not a stone in the island of Jamaica which, if the rains of heaven had not washed off from it the stains of blood, might not have borne terrible witness to the manner in which martial law had been administered for the suppression of negro discontent.

It is to England's honor that, in the distant administration of her numerous colonies, which it is impossible always to govern with strict legality, public sentiment and public indignation have always rectified abuses and effectually repressed that tyranny to which the possession of absolute power sometimes leads even the most moderate men. The tumult of indignation with which England received the report of Governor Eyre's severity, the prosecution at once instituted against him, the bitterness of Chief-Justice Cockburn's language in charging the grand-jury, were all guarantees against the possible recurrence of a similar iniquity. At the same time, Mr. Eyre's conduct was defended by some persons as hotly as it was attacked by others; the urgency of the situation was pleaded, and, indeed, not unjustly, by way of palliation of the excesses of a government bewildered by the danger; Governor Eyre was never brought to trial, but his official career was ended, and he retired into private life, overwhelmed by debts incurred in defending himself before the grand-juries, which debts were, however, finally paid by government. Public equity and humanity were satisfied; Jamaica henceforth was ruled by a new governor, and received a new constitution, but the traces of what she had suffered were not and could not be effaced; countries which have long maintained slavery know that its imprint stamped for ages upon the soil and upon human souls, requires ages more before its traces can be finally obliterated.

While the deposed Governor of Jamaica was defending his conduct before his indignant countrymen, other disputes of a much wider importance were going on or being brought to a close in Europe. The despoilers of Denmark had quarrelled over their plunder, war had been declared between Austria and Prussia, and the battle of Sadowa fought and lost by Austria. Henceforth her power in Germany was forever weakened. The remnants of her Italian possessions were escaping from her; Venetia had been abandoned to France by the conquerors, and France had given it up to Italy. A new European state was developing with increasing rapidity; a threatening power was assuming vast proportions; the Powers dominant in the past saw their authority and their strength diminishing; they were bearing the penalty of their faults, and clear-sighted minds already perceived the grave consequences likely to ensue.

M. Guizot thus judged of the victory of Prussia over Austria, and the preponderance Prussia had by this event suddenly gained in Germany:

“Two great facts, one occurring in the eighteenth century, the other in our own times, have profoundly modified — I may say, have destroyed — the ancient organization of the German peoples. In the eighteenth century, by the political and military genius of Frederic II., Prussia, one of the states of the German Confederation, gained in territory and in internal strength, to the point of being able to dispute, and of disputing in fact, the preponderance in that confederation with Austria, who had for many centuries enjoyed it. The French Revolution and Napoleon, by their ideas and their wars, put a stop, for the time, to this rivalry between the two great German powers, and, by turns, humiliated Prussia and Austria, the former even more than the latter. Reduced, both of them, to the last extremity, they then rallied together in the general rising of the German

populations to shake off the yoke of Napoleon, and in the great struggle which brought about his fall. The German Confederation rallied also at that time with many mutilations and a new organization, and again appeared the rivalry between Prussia and Austria, abated, however, and restrained by the prolonged effect of their late alliance, by the personal sentiments of their rulers, by their common fear of revolutions, and by the German distrust of all foreign influence, especially of that of France. Thirty-four years of European peace had exhausted in the German Confederation these causes of harmony, real or apparent, and had sowed the germs of new ambitions, more popular than royal. The revolution of 1848 developed these germs, and rekindled the rivalry of the two Powers. An apparently unimportant question, and one which the slightest European wisdom might have stifled or might have settled, — the question, namely, of constitutional rights in dispute between Denmark and Holstein, precipitated events. Allies for a moment, in order to perform together a joint act of superior power against the little nation of Denmark, Austria and Prussia soon entered upon a violent quarrel. At one blow the battle of Sadowa put an end to the struggle, and opened a question infinitely more important than that which had given cause for the movement.

“It would be equally puerile to see in this great fact all that the victors at Sadowa or that systematic dreamers pretend to discern therein, or, on the other hand, to underestimate its importance. . . . The words and the ideas, ‘German nationality,’ and ‘German unity,’ played a vociferous part in this great event of 1866, but they did not constitute its real and serious character. It was a radical change accomplished by a German Power for its own profit, in the political condition of Germany and of Europe. There is no longer a German Confederation; there is no longer a struggle and balance of power between the great German States, and independence with



secured means of resistance for the secondary German States. The fact of Sadowa is a fact of aggrandizement and conquest, achieved by the military strength of Prussia, and by her influence upon the intellectual life of Germany. It is the work of Frederic II. taken up and carried forward by his people, rather than by his successors upon the throne. It is a warlike, ambitious, and sagacious nation, which has unquestionably taken rank among the foremost Powers of Europe.

“Without doubt there is cause here for the elder Powers to be most watchful and wary. This new German State creates for them all, and most of all for France, a new situation, full of obscure possibilities. This situation it would have been easy for them to prevent; easily, by means of influence and diplomacy, might they have resolved the question between Germany and Denmark, on the subject of Schleswig and Holstein. Thus they would have stifled a war which has settled that trifling question only in raising other and much more serious ones. But foresight and decision were alike lacking at this crisis, to the great Powers of Europe. Through her German sympathies, Austria was betrayed into the enormous fault of uniting with Prussia to crush Denmark. Through hesitation or through miscalculation in respect to the future, the French government not merely failed to take the initiative, which belonged to it in this affair, but refused the proposal of joint, and, if need should arise, decisive action, made by England. Russia, who seemed by geographical position, as well as by family ties, to be the natural protectress of Denmark, spoke only as a matter of form, willing at heart to witness divisions, uncertainties, and inertia among the Western Powers. Prussia alone acted judiciously and vigorously, pursuing a design clearly marked out and of admirable policy; she had put herself at the head of the Danish event; it was natural that she alone should profit by the German success and all that followed from it. . . . Since



the fall of Napoleon, Europe had seen no war so rash as that made by Prussia and Austria in 1866, nor any success so prompt and decisive as the battle of Sadowa."\*

For more than twenty-five years, amid the diverse phases of the French revolution, the influence and the action of England had been dominant in Europe. From her island empire she had acted upon the destinies of the world by her policy, by her sacrifices, by her indomitable resolution, even at a time when her military forces were comparatively small and with difficulty recruited. Henceforth, at the close of a long peace, broken a few years before by the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, in presence of important changes in Europe and the new relative position of the Continental Powers, England resigned her share and control in the affairs of the Continent. She seemed to shut herself up in her narrow empire, extended only by commercial relations, and to abandon her interest in the world's history. Lord Palmerston had often pushed too far the tradition of English interference in European affairs. After his death, his country was silent in the councils of Europe. For more than ten years England had not a word to say in respect to foreign matters. Upon her own affairs, her domestic resources and home agitations, were concentrated all the efforts of English statesmen. "By degrees," wrote M. Guizot to Mr. Gladstone, in his letter of January, 1871, "England has ceased to consider foreign affairs as the main subjects of her policy; it is upon domestic questions, upon the condition and relations of the various parts of the British Empire, Ireland, India, the colonies, upon her own civil institutions and administration, that her attention and her labor have been for the most part concentrated; she has modified her parliamentary régime, her judicial, ecclesiastical, commercial, and colonial systems, her public instruction, her police; and the government which was

\* *La France et la Prusse devant l'Europe, par M. Guizot.*

esteemed the most obstinately conservative has become the most active of reformers.

"I am far from blaming this new direction of thought and of public administration among our neighbors; I call in question neither the value nor the opportuneness of the reforms they have made. I am convinced that, taking everything into account, England to-day is more equitably governed and is more prosperous than she has ever been. But she cannot, she should not forget that it is to her foreign policy during a period of forty years that she owes her wonderful gain in importance, and the world's unhesitating acknowledgment of her power. It is by reason of her energetic sympathy in the general affairs of Europe, by reason of the share she has had in them, the part she has played in them, that the firmest partisans of order have been accustomed to consider her the type of strong governments, and that the most faithful friends of liberty have been grateful to her for presenting at the same time the spectacle of a free people. In presence of new and grave European crises, England cannot to-day remain unconcerned and inactive without being accused of egoism and indolence, and without soon declining, morally and politically, in the opinion and consideration of the world."

England remained and was to remain inactive, if not indifferent, in the presence of the great events which took place and were to take place in Europe. In 1870 as in 1866, she was absorbed by the objects of her domestic policy, and too much occupied in moving her pawns upon the parliamentary chess-board, to interfere in the great game then going on in Europe. In 1870, she was founding her system of public instruction; in 1866, she was again busy in parliamentary reform. It had been the general expectation that Lord Russell would at once avail himself of his predominance in the queen's councils to present a project of reform. The royal speech announced it, upon the opening of the new

session, but with a certain reserve which surprised the public mind. Information had been sought for, it was said, in reference to the right of voting in the election of members of Parliament, and when the information should be complete "the attention of Parliament will be called to the result thus obtained with a view to such improvements in the laws which regulate the right of voting in the election of members of the House of Commons as may tend to strengthen our free institutions, and conduce to the public welfare."

The Reform Bill presented in the House of Commons on the 12th of March had in fact that character of a compromise which the royal speech had foreshadowed. The county franchise was to be reduced from fifty pounds to fourteen, and the borough franchise from ten to seven. An additional clause extended the right of suffrage to certain classes outside these limits, but this was only a trifle. The redistribution of seats was to be the object of a second bill which Mr. Gladstone announced while skilfully and eloquently developing the ministerial project of reform.

Disappointment was general among the ardent Liberals; and the hostile and contemptuous indifference of the Conservatives soon extended to the moderate Whigs; the reform measure was not popular with the public, and even less so in a House but just elected, and more eager to enjoy its electoral victory than to engage in a new struggle. The changes proposed appeared to all parties too insignificant to excite any enthusiasm or seriously to satisfy the public mind. In vain did Mr. Gladstone appear at public meetings during the Easter recess, and display the resources of his marvellous eloquence in the hope of enkindling a general enthusiasm. In the House he was sustained by the most ardent reformers, but it was the ministry rather than the measure that Mr. Bright defended, and his contempt for the bill itself sometimes was manifest under his argument.



The Conservatives were not backward in the attack, but it was from among the Liberals themselves that came forth the most eager champion against the bill proposed by Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Robert Lowe had twice been a member of Liberal administrations since quitting the practice of law in Australia; he had always been a Liberal, and now he attacked the Reform Bill with a passion and an ability that he never again manifested upon any subject. For a moment Mr. Disraeli was thrown into the background by the zeal and eloquence of this new recruit. Mr. Bright compared the little party which had gathered about this unexpected champion of the Conservatives to the band of malcontents who collected in the cave of Adullam under the leadership of David, and the name long clung to this new parliamentary group.

Disorganization penetrated into the ranks of the Liberals. Mr. Gladstone foresaw the momentary check while predicting with confidence the final triumph of the cause which he supported. "You cannot fight against the future," he said. "Time is on our side. The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb — those great social forces are against you; they are marshalled on our side, and the banner which we now carry, though perhaps at this moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet soon again will float in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and a not distant victory."

This proud prophecy of the great Liberal leader betrayed the anticipation of a present defeat; and in this he was not deceived. Passing, by a very small majority, to its second reading, upon its third reading the bill was overwhelmed by amendments from all sides of the House. An amendment proposed by Lord Dunkellin, making the franchise in boroughs a little higher than



the government proposed, was finally passed by a majority of eleven. The ministry being thus defeated, resigned at once, and Lord Derby was invited to form a Cabinet.

The burden was one to which the shoulders of the Tory leader were accustomed, having borne it many times before. But this time Lord Derby was reluctant to undertake the task; he was now an old man, and in feeble health; the parliamentary methods of the day were different from those which had obtained in his youth; year by year the faces with which he had been familiar were disappearing. The European situation was critical; the domestic outlook was gloomy; the cattle-pest ravaged the country; a financial panic paralyzed business; the failure of the great banking-house of Overend and Gurney had brought about innumerable disasters. Lord Russell at this time announced his intention to retire from the arena of politics, in which he had been so long an impetuous and disinterested champion; and he nominated Mr. Gladstone as his successor in the leadership of the Liberal party. Lord Derby hoped, and not unreasonably, to recruit his party from the ranks of those whom Mr. Bright had named the Adullamites. He offered places to Mr. Lowe and his friends, but they all declared with one voice that, having overthrown the late ministry, they could not profit by its downfall without exposing to suspicion the purity of their motives, and Lord Derby was obliged to make up his Cabinet exclusively from the Conservatives. Mr. Disraeli naturally succeeded Mr. Gladstone; Lord Stanley became Foreign Secretary; Lord Cranbourne (afterwards Marquis of Salisbury), who, as Lord Robert Cecil, had been distinguished by the uncompromising severity of his ideas, and by his political eloquence, had the care of Indian affairs; Mr. Walpole accepted the office of Home Secretary.

The country had remained indifferent to the project of Reform proposed by the Liberals; the House had disdainfully

rejected it. No sooner had the power fallen into the hands of the Conservatives than the seeds of agitation sown broadcast during the discussion of the bill, germinated suddenly with a vigor and energy until then unknown. Everywhere leagues were formed, and Reform meetings held. The agitators in the capital had announced a monster meeting to be held in Hyde Park; the authorities prohibited it, but the partisans of reform denied the right of the authorities so to do, and on the 23d of July, from all quarters of London, numerous processions with bands of music and banners marched towards the Park. The gates were locked, and a line of policemen stationed outside. The president of the League, Mr. Beales, a well-known lawyer, presented himself and demanded admittance. On being refused, he re-entered his carriage and drove to Trafalgar Square, followed by a considerable crowd. There a meeting was improvised; resolutions of thanks to the Reform leaders were passed, and an intention announced of pursuing the work of Reform. After this the meeting dispersed quietly; the law had been scrupulously respected; it was from the law that Mr. Beales and the wiser among his followers hoped the success of their cause.

All of them were not of the same mind, however. The crowd which had gathered at the gates of Hyde Park was irritated and angry; mingled with it were many turbulent men, at all times ready for scenes of disorder. The multitude were crowded against the rails, and by a sudden movement along the line, a general thrust was given, and the rails were thrown down. In an instant, the Park was invaded; grass, shrubs, and flower-beds were trampled down by the crowd, intoxicated with its success, and violating at pleasure all the regulations for the maintenance of an ornamental pleasure-ground. A triumph of liberty was proclaimed; occasional altercations with the police brought about small breaches of the peace; but nothing serious





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occurred, and it was not found necessary to call out the soldiery who were held in readiness near by. The crowd indeed cheered the soldiers, manifesting no ill-will or fear towards them. All through the next day a throng of sight-seers visited the Park, to examine the scene of this popular victory. No serious disorder, however, occurred to aggravate the terror with which the peaceable citizens of London at first received the news of this invasion of forbidden ground.

The chief importance of the Hyde Park riot was that it had a certain influence upon the Conservative Cabinet. The Reform party were conscious that it aided them, and redoubled their noisy efforts. In all the large towns meetings and speeches were multiplied; there were interminable processions and banners without number; the organized trades-associations took more part in these demonstrations made to order than did the general public. That concealed power which had organized so many strikes was beginning to manifest itself in broad day and take part, for the first time, in a great political movement. The Conservative Ministry was placed in a position where it must itself propose Reform, or else yield to those who had lately failed in a similar attempt, and who had by their own lack of harmony been compelled to relinquish the authority, while they still retained a large share of effective power.

The new session opened on the 5th of February, 1867. The royal speech bore the stamp of Mr. Disraeli's skill in the use of language. "Your attention," the queen said, "will again be called to the state of the representation of the people in Parliament, and it is hoped that your deliberations, conducted in a spirit of moderation and mutual forbearance, may lead to the adoption of measures which, without unduly disturbing the balance of political power, shall freely extend the elective franchise." The ambiguity of the terms in which this wish was expressed left the government free; and on the 11th of February Mr.

Disraeli announced that it was his intention to present to the House, not a Bill of Reform prepared in advance, but a considerable number of resolutions, for the purpose of establishing certain principles on which the two parties could agree; in this following the example set by Lord Russell at the time of the Indian Mutiny, when it became necessary to reconstruct the government of that distant land still trembling from the shock it had just endured.

The two cases were not analogous; upon the question of Elective Reform, political passions had been for a long time violently excited; when the affairs of India came under discussion, the sole desire of all parties was to promote the public good in a case of urgent necessity. The failure of Mr. Disraeli's plan was inevitable; he abandoned it, and a few days later, presented a Reform Bill of a singularly incoherent and futile character. The bill was badly received by the House, and for the third time, the conduct formally announced by government was changed. Mr. Disraeli announced that in a few days he should present to the House a project of the most serious and thorough Reform. Two bills had been, it was said, prepared from the first. An effort had been made to satisfy the public demand at a cheaper rate; this had failed, and Mr. Disraeli was ready for the alternative. Three members of the Cabinet resigned, General Peel, Lord Carnarvon, and Mr. Cranbourne. "It is a leap in the dark," said Lord Cranbourne.

He spoke truly; the boldness of the Conservative Minister went far beyond that of all preceding Whig Cabinets. Lord Derby asserted that he could see no reason why a monopoly of Reform should be abandoned to the Liberals. From debate to debate, from one amendment to another, the bill went on, growing more and more democratic at every step. Mr. Disraeli had declared that the government would never introduce household suffrage pure and simple. But when the last readings

and the last voting had made the bill a law, household suffrage, pure and simple, was made a right of the inhabitants of towns.

This was more than Mr. Bright himself had asked. Mr. Gladstone began to fear that the excessive extension might in practice bring it down to that level of universal suffrage whose caprices and incredible surprises had more than once been exhibited in France. Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone were, however, powerless to restrain the ardor of the more advanced members of their party. A considerable group of Liberals refused to support Mr. Gladstone's amendment restricting the suffrage. Mr. John Stuart Mill proposed to extend the electoral right to women who possessed the legal qualifications of men. The Reform League continued its noisy demonstrations, and a meeting was called for the 6th of May in Hyde Park. Mr. Walpole, the home secretary, issued a proclamation on May 1st, prohibiting this gathering and warning all persons not to attend it. The League took legal advice, and it was made clear that the law which gave the crown control over the parks, and the right to prosecute trespassers, did not give the right to anticipate trespass, and close the gates against a peaceable meeting. The prohibition was therefore removed; the meeting took place without disorder and also without importance; and Mr. Walpole, wearied by the difficulties of his office, resigned.

On the 15th of August, 1867, the Reform Bill was passed. The work of the Reform League was thus achieved, and their agitations since that time have been superficial, and without serious influence upon the public opinion of the country. The measure was a radical one, and gave over the government of England to the masses of the people to a degree which had not been foreseen by the members of the Cabinet, who resisted at every new amendment and threatened to withdraw the bill. It enfranchised in boroughs all householders paying poor-rates, and all lodgers resident for one year and paying not less than ten



pounds a year rent, and in counties all persons possessing property with an annual income of five pounds, and occupiers of lands or tenements, who paid twelve pounds yearly rent. Many small boroughs were disfranchised, the representation of others was reduced, and several new constituencies created. The great cities — Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds — obtained each a third member. The University of London was to have a representative. For the purpose of securing a minority representation it was provided that in places returning three members, each elector should vote for only two. The choice of the minority might, however, be of the same party as his two colleagues, and owe his numerical inferiority only to some personal unpopularity. Lord Cairns, who proposed the amendment, had not anticipated this possibility, and his project was only one concession more, added to all those which government had already consented to make. The electoral reform was completed by the hands and in the name of the conservative party. With grave and keen irony, Mr. Lowe remarked, "All that remains to us to do now is, to educate our new masters."

The reforms for Scotland and Ireland were postponed till the following year. The Scottish Reform Bill gave a borough franchise the same as that of England, and a county franchise nearly equivalent to the English. The Irish bill was extremely unimportant. The condition of Ireland, however, was now a matter of extreme solicitude.

There had been for some time a secret anxiety felt by the English government on the subject of a conspiracy believed to be slowly maturing in Ireland, directed by distant hands and based upon that hatred of England which broods forever in the depths of the Irish heart. "If the majority of the people of Ireland," said Mr. Bright, "had their will and had the power, they would unmoor the island from its fastenings in the deep, and moor it at least two thousand miles to the west."



More than one English statesman endured the humiliation of this long and fruitless effort to unite two races, differing in manners, in religion, and in character. Shortly after, Mr. Gladstone was destined to make a great and decisive effort, justifiable in right as well as in policy, yet not fully satisfactory to the Irish, while it shocked even his most faithful friends in England. In 1866, the government of which he was a member saw itself obliged to ask from Parliament the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. On the 16th of February the bill passed the two Houses, having received its three readings; the royal authorization was not obtained from Osborne, whither the queen had lately gone, until after midnight. The bill became a law, and the Cabinet thus found itself endowed with an almost unlimited authority over the liberty of persons suspected of conspiracy.

A condition of treasonable intrigue had been for centuries the normal state of Ireland. She had endured long years of oppression, and even the increase of liberty had not abolished the nation's private griefs; plots had been, one after another, detected and defeated; the leaders of Young Ireland had been imprisoned or banished; then followed the Phoenix clubs recruited among the very peasantry, not even selecting its leaders from the higher or middle classes. The intrigues of these clubs were discovered; some prosecutions followed, but the whole matter was of comparatively little importance. Far more serious was the Fenian movement, which took its rise among the Irish who had emigrated to the United States. In the new country where they had sought the means of existence denied them at home, they had forgotten neither the traditions nor the griefs of their beloved land; and it was the name of the ancient Irish militia that they now gave to the association founded by the Irish in New York. "Here we have the long arm of the lever," wrote one of the Irish con-

spirators of 1848, who had taken refuge in America, and had there acquired a wide influence. The kernel of the conspiracy was sheltered from English spies and from popular indiscretions. The Irish who had served in the American armies during the war of secession were numerous and well-trained; they had learned to rely upon themselves, and they had formed close relations with their comrades in arms; they hoped to profit by this in gaining the support of the Americans in their campaign against England. The state of parties in America added to the influence of the Irish there resident; Irish votes turned the scale at many an election; the apparent sympathy of the people of the United States in the affairs of Ireland contributed to the agitation kept up by the Fenians in behalf of their native country. Also, the general irritation felt in America towards England at the close of the civil war lent its assistance to the Fenian hopes. As early as 1865, an address was issued by the Fenian leaders in America, to the effect that an Irish army was about to be raised in Ireland, recruited by Irish officers from America; and quite a number of bold adventurers landed one after another upon the Irish coast. Mr. James Stephens, the chief of the Fenian movement, did not hesitate to follow his subordinates, and was speedily arrested; in a few days, however, he succeeded in making his escape.

Meanwhile the association in the United States, deprived of its head, had broken into two parties, one clamorous for an expedition to Ireland, the other advocating an attack upon Canada. On the 31st of May, 1866, a band of Fenians crossed the river Niagara, seized Fort Erie, and repulsed the Canadian volunteers who had taken up arms against them. Other bands were already on the march to support this advanced guard, when the United States government interposed, forbidding the passage of the river, while the frontier was strictly guarded. Some of the adventurers paid for their temerity with their

lives, others escaped, and the enterprise ended in failure. Mr. Stephens meanwhile had returned to New York, and announced the intention of making an attack in Ireland. The recruits that crossed the sea to act under his orders were every day more and more numerous. Meanwhile the leader was in vain expected; in America it was believed that he had already returned to Ireland; but neither on one shore of the Atlantic nor the other could he be found; he had vanished, but the fate of the insurrection was no longer in his hands. Too many lives, too many interests were concerned in the Fenian association, and agitation broke out everywhere. A plan had been formed among the English Fenians to march upon the city of Chester, capture the ancient castle, cut the telegraph wires, thence make for Holyhead, seize some vessels and cross over to Ireland. Government received warning of this scheme, and the enterprise was never attempted. In March, 1867, a general insurrection was planned for Ireland. This time the weather contributed to the failure of the attempt. An unusual and heavy snow covered the hills and valleys, effacing all paths, betraying every footprint. Some attacks were made on police-barracks at different points: at Cork, at Kerry, at Tipperary, at Limerick, at Louth; all failed with but little bloodshed. The leaders were brought to trial, firm in their patriotic resolve. English sympathy at once awoke in their favor. A great meeting was held in St. James' Hall, London, to obtain the commutation of the capital penalty pronounced against one of the leaders, Colonel Burke. Mr. John Stuart Mill spoke ardently in the name of mercy; and the sentence of the condemned was, in fact, commuted.

The rigor of justice was displayed, however, a few months later, when a prison-van, conveying two Fenians to jail, was attacked, at Manchester, by an armed band demanding the surrender of the prisoners. A policeman was killed in the performance of his duty, the two prisoners were rescued and



made their escape, but five of the liberators were captured, tried, and sentenced to death. Three of them underwent the penalty with the habitual courage of the Irish conspirator. Of the other two, one, it was proved, had been arrested under a mistake, and the second in some way escaped as being an American citizen. Lord Derby, at that time prime minister, had absolutely refused to listen to extenuating circumstances in the case of the three who suffered the penalty of death, although public opinion in England was very strongly excited in their favor. A new Fenian attempt, however, shortly after, drove back the swelling wave of popular compassion.

The three Manchester criminals, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, had been hanged on the 23d of November. On the 13th of December all London was startled and alarmed by the violent shock of a sudden detonation. In the hope of delivering the Fenians in prison at Clerkenwell, some of their friends had exploded a barrel of gunpowder under the wall of the prison. An enormous chasm was made in the wall; many small houses in the neighborhood were destroyed, a dozen persons were killed or mortally wounded, a hundred and twenty received injuries more or less severe. The prisoners whose deliverance had been thus attempted themselves escaped death only because the governor of the prison, warned by the authorities of the attempt that might be made, had confined them to their cells. The alarm and indignation were great throughout London. One man only was condemned and executed for the crime which had cost the lives of so many. Even this man was found guilty upon the evidence of an informer, and Mr. Bright spoke in the House of Commons in the prisoner's behalf. But though the verdict was confirmed, and the sentence executed, it did not seem to act as a warning to the crowd of known or unknown conspirators who successively tried their fortune in Ireland and England. The Fenian disturbances continued without signal



events, without great and general outbreaks, but always menacing, and always in aim and origin exclusively Irish. If sometimes it happened that one of the habitual agitators of the European democracy found himself by chance in their ranks, he made haste to get away. The Fenians pursued the idea of the deliverance of Ireland and of her vengeance upon England; they concerned themselves with continental thrones no more than with the Red Republicans who strove to overthrow those thrones.

The Fenians were not at this time the sole cause of anxiety and trouble to the English government. The misconduct and oppression arising from those secret organizations known as trades-unions, were of late beginning to be very openly manifested. Workingmen who did not belong to the society which secretly ruled the workshops of their trade, or, if members, ventured to disobey orders, were conscious of being pursued, tracked, exposed to a thousand dangers in their work, and even in their homes and surrounded by their families. The first inquiries made by government failing to bring to light the truth, the ministry ordered, in 1869, a serious investigation, and the commissioners took evidence on oath in Sheffield, Manchester, and other great manufacturing centres. Everywhere the same state of things was found to exist. Almost everywhere a secretly organized tyranny pursued the workingmen whom it pretended to protect. The masters themselves suffered from the same tyranny when they ventured to discharge men who were members of the unions. The workmen had been sometimes pursued even to death by the vengeance of the secret societies. Employment of any kind was debarred them when they had incurred the displeasure of this mysterious power. The facts which were revealed and the light which was thrown upon the origin and continuance of strikes, awakened in serious and considerate minds doubts of the utility of the legislation, which, in making

trades-unions illegal, had forced the artisan into the dangerous paths of secret organizations. The question was made a matter of careful study, and was destined finally to result in new legislation on the subject, recognizing and regulating the rights of the workingman as well as those of the employer; recognizing, also, the principle of association and establishing its legitimate limits, and authorizing the co-operative enterprises already in their early stages of development. In this way, the revelation of crimes committed by the secret societies of Sheffield and Manchester, while exciting the horror and indignation of all England, was to bear fruits of wisdom and equity which the mysterious oppressors had never dreamed of. It is in this way that the daylight of publicity and the healthful air of freedom, existing together with order, bring a remedy and a cure to the maladies which have grown up in shadow. Strikes have not ceased entirely, but they have become less frequent and of shorter duration; the tyranny of trades-unions has diminished and at some points disappeared, falling naturally under the hand of the law.

The principle of combined action for the purpose of obtaining at the cheapest price the necessities of life, has rapidly made its way through all classes of society and all associations. The poor flannel-weavers of Rochdale who established in 1844 a humble shop, where with great difficulty they gathered a stock of the most needful commodities, for the purpose of escaping the extortions of the tradesmen with whom they had before dealt, did not suspect that the day would come when the civil service would establish their great warehouses on the co-operative principle, nor dream that the influence of their humble enterprise was to make itself felt upon all the trade of Great Britain.

Quietly and smoothly the work of Legislative Reform was going on at the same time in the most diverse directions. Early in 1868, an important change occurred in the Cabinet. Lord

Derby, suffering under the increasing infirmities of age and with a constitution much impaired by illness, had determined to withdraw from public life, and Mr. Disraeli succeeded him as prime minister. The hour of Mr. Disraeli's great political success was not yet come; as a party leader he had been, in a sense, isolated in the House of Commons, never commanding the enthusiastic confidence of his adherents; as prime minister he exercised an often disputed authority, yet one that increased daily, and was destined to reach much greater development.

The last duty of the minister who had just resigned was to bring before Parliament a measure for the quasi-independent organization of the North American territories belonging to Great Britain. From this time, these provinces formed a confederation, closely united among themselves, but destined to be more and more set free from the control of the mother-country. Already the almost complete independence of Australia was beginning to dawn upon the political horizon. With wise foresight the home-government was gently breaking the bonds which might indeed retard the development of the colonies, but would bring neither strength nor profit to the mother-country. The children of old England remain proud of her name and of their common origin; scattered abroad throughout the world, henceforth their quarrels or difficulties are to bring no embarrassment to her. From colony to colony the same destiny awaits all the territories where the Anglo-Saxon race has established itself, founding its empire and slowly destroying the native populations by the sole force of its presence and its superiority. The East alone remains indefinitely bound to England; the English dominion in India cannot introduce liberty there.

In the summer of 1867, nearly at the time when the Houses were accepting the new constitution of the Anglo-American provinces, the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul-Aziz, visited England, where he was eagerly followed by a crowd curious to behold him,



as it had beheld Kossuth, and later, Garibaldi, and, a few years after this, would follow and watch the Shah of Persia. The Turkish monarch in his turn looked about him with a somewhat unintelligent curiosity, surprised and pleased, however, to find himself welcomed by the popular good-will. He learned nothing of the great lesson of liberty, nor acquired new strength for his empire, in treading the soil of England. The "sick man," to hasten whose end the Emperor Nicholas had formerly labored, remained sick and feeble in spite of friends and enemies alike, destined to cause long-protracted anxieties to Europe and vain hopes to his neighbors eager to seize upon his goods. The eyes of Abdul-Aziz were not clear-sighted enough to perceive the striking contrast between the policy of England, emancipating, one after another, her far-off colonies, and the weakness of the Sublime Porte, losing unwillingly province after province; he was even less capable of comprehending the progress of good sense and justice presiding over the modifications introduced into the interior legislation of Great Britain. The prohibition of public executions; the transfer of jurisdiction in the case of contested elections from the House of Commons itself to one of the judges of the superior courts at Westminster; the practical relinquishment by the House of Lords of their ancient privilege of voting by proxy; the concentration in the hands of government of all control over the telegraph system of England: these useful labors and reforms, salutary rather than brilliant, occupied the Houses during the sessions of 1867 and 1868, without exciting, very keenly, the interest of the nation at large.

At this time much attention was directed towards the little force sent out to Abyssinia in search of certain English subjects, men and women, for some time held as prisoners in the hands of King Theodore. European curiosity has been from all time attracted by the wild tales of travellers who have visited that remote kingdom of Africa, over which have ruled a race of



Abyssinian princes from the time, it is asserted, of that Queen of Sheba who paid a visit to Solomon. Sir John Mandeville has related the history of Prester John, an Abyssinian king who was so charmed with a Christian church which he saw in Egypt, that he adopted the title of priest as an honorable distinction. The *Travels in Abyssinia* of Mr. James Bruce had revived this interest among the people of England. The captivity of Captain Cameron, British consul at Massowah, a Turkish island off the Abyssinian coast, and of certain other English subjects in the hands of King Theodore, excited the sympathy and offended the pride of Great Britain. The Abyssinian king was in reality a usurper. A former English consul at Massowah, Mr. Plowden, had supported him in putting down a rebellion, and had been killed in consequence. Captain Cameron, Mr. Plowden's successor, had taken no part in the domestic quarrels of the Abyssinians, being instructed by government to preserve entire neutrality. King Theodore resented this attitude of the consul, and even accused the latter of intriguing against him with Egypt. Captain Cameron, having imprudently ventured into Abyssinia, was seized, together with several other English persons, and thrown into prison, in Magdala, the Abyssinian capital. Several German missionaries with their wives, some of whom were Englishwomen, were among the captives in Magdala, and of these a few had been not less than four years in captivity.

The assistant British resident at Aden, Mr. Rassam, who was sent by the English government to remonstrate with Theodore, was, in his turn, made prisoner by the exasperated king, and sent with his companions to join Captain Cameron within the walls of Magdala. Upon this an ultimatum was despatched by Lord Stanley, requiring King Theodore to relinquish his captives within three months, on penalty of war. This ultimatum, it is believed, never reached the savage court of Magdala. About

the close of the year 1867, a military expedition set out from India, under the orders of Sir Robert Napier, commander-in-chief of the army of Bombay. The expedition in itself was an extremely difficult and perilous one, across wild regions without roads, exposed to all the rigors of a rude and variable climate, through mountain gorges and over heights ten thousand feet above the sea, for a distance of about four hundred miles. To add to the difficulties of the march no supplies could be obtained, and it was necessary to carry provisions for the entire march.

Early in the month of April, 1868, Sir Robert Napier, with his little army, arrived at the foot of the rocky cliffs whereon stood the Abyssinian capital. The prisoners had tasted again and again all the bitterness of death before their liberators had been able to cross the deserts and mountains, and come to their relief. King Theodore fluctuated between paroxysms of rage and caprices of friendly intercourse with his prisoners; he was at times boastful, but at last seemed to fall into increasing dejection. More than once the captives believed their last hour had come; but, as if by an instinct of prudence, the barbaric sovereign still spared their lives, until at last the near approach of the English force was announced. The armed multitude of the Abyssinians flung themselves upon the invaders and were repulsed with heavy loss, while the little English army stood steadily under the shock. The attacks were renewed again and again. Finally, King Theodore sent down all the prisoners to Sir Robert Napier, but he himself still refused to surrender, and the English general ordered an assault.

The fortress of Magdala was built upon a rocky height, the ascent to which was possible only by two narrow paths, each leading up to a strong gateway. Sir Robert Napier selected the northern side for his attack. The English soldiers made the ascent, forced the massive gates and rushed into the town. At

their first step inside the walls, they came upon the dead body of King Theodore. Unable to defend himself, he would not survive his defeat, and had fallen by his own hand.

The fortress of Magdala was razed to the ground, and the town destroyed. "Nothing but blackened rock remains," wrote the conqueror. He had been unwilling to leave the place to become the almost inaccessible stronghold of a fierce Moham-medan tribe of the neighborhood, hostile to the Abyssinian Christians.

The expedition had been conducted with a regularity and precision both in the plan and its execution that left no room for accident or for uneasiness. The task was accomplished; King Theodore's widow had survived him but a few days, and their son, a boy of seven years, was taken charge of by Queen Victoria, and brought to England to be educated, where, however, the climate soon proved fatal to him. The English general did not seek to interfere in the quarrels of the Abyssinian chiefs who disputed for King Theodore's possessions among themselves. In less than a week after the taking of Magdala, the English troops were on their way to the coast. On the 21st of June, the first detachment of troops sent home from Abyssinia landed at Plymouth. Their victorious chief was made Baron Napier of Magdala, and the acclamations of all England saluted the success of his arms, skilfully and effectively employed toward a praiseworthy end, never for a moment overstepped, — a rare example of military precision and political good sense, doing honor to the leader and to the army who had wisely and bravely carried out the wise instructions of their government.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## MR. GLADSTONE'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE Fenian Association openly formed in America for the service of Ireland and in her interests, the secret ramifications of this society upon the Western Continent, and the outbreaks in Ireland and England which had already resulted from it, had excited the attention and the anxiety of many Englishmen, thus painfully made aware of the malady always secretly rife in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone had been more impressed by these signs of danger than had any other person; and certain convictions which had long been forming in his mind suddenly came to maturity. Henceforth he felt that England had a duty to perform, that the complaints of Ireland, at one time uttered in low murmurs, at another, breaking into loud clamor, could no longer be disregarded, and that the evil had become so great as to demand an immediate remedy. The deep and indestructible antagonism between the two races did not, in his opinion, arise merely from their difference in religion, but from the fact that the Established Church, consisting of a very small minority, practised oppression towards the members of the Roman Catholic communion, who form the large majority of the population of Ireland. From this time, the project of establishing equality between the two churches which divide the sister kingdom became in Mr. Gladstone's mind a panacea for all the discords which had embittered and still saddened the union of Ireland and England. As courageous as he was positive in his convictions, and always eager to bring a remedy







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GLADSTONE.

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where he perceived an evil, Mr. Gladstone determined to put an end to a state of things whose injustice was manifest to him, mitigated though it had been when the system of tithes was abolished in Ireland. On the 16th of March, 1868, at the close of a debate upon a series of resolutions offered by Mr. John Francis Maguire, an Irish member of Parliament, Mr. Gladstone distinctly announced his opinion that the time had come when the Irish Church as a state institution must cease to exist. All the reasons which have made the Established Church dear and precious in England as the mother of souls, the guardian of the faith, were so many arguments against her existence as a predominating power in Ireland. The poet Moore has expressed this idea in one of his poetic allegories, where a profound meaning is veiled under the impassioned elegance of the language; the Irish peasant has a mistress whom he loves, whom he serves, to whom he will remain faithful even unto death; what matter to him the splendors of the rival who would supplant her, the golden crown, the sumptuous palaces of the one he loves not? The Irishman has but one mistress, — one sovereign of souls, the only powerful and positive influence over an ignorant, passionate and excitable race. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, once persecuted and oppressed, now for many years free, and active and influential as ever, was about to be officially recognized by the English Parliament as a legitimate authority and one worthy of respect. Ireland had refused to abandon her hereditary faith, she had not become Protestant; and the missionary work that Protestant England had undertaken among the Irish population — a work sustained by all the efforts of a richly-endowed National Church — was henceforth to assume a different character. Protestants and Roman Catholics were henceforth to be placed upon the same footing, in a position of equality and independence; the revenues of Ireland were no longer to be employed in supporting an establishment to which

she was hostile; the religious interests of a small minority were no longer to be served at great expense, while the analogous needs of an overwhelming majority were totally neglected. Acquired rights were to be respected, all due consideration would be shown to the former order of things; but inequality was to cease, and equity was to take the place of injustice.

Such were the general outlines of the design which Mr. Gladstone unfolded in three resolutions which he presented on the 30th of March, 1868. The issue already appeared clear and the fate of the Irish Church decided, when Lord Stanley proposed an amendment, reserving for a new Parliament the right to decide upon a new question of such great importance. This seemed, on the part of the Conservatives, to be merely asking for delay. The amendment, however, was rejected, and Mr. Gladstone's first resolution was passed, some weeks later, after a discussion as brilliant as it was impassioned and violent. The defenders of an establishment in Ireland urged the danger of such a precedent, exposing to peril the English Church, so tenderly loved by so many hearts, the most solid pillar of the constitution as well as of social order. The partisans of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions maintained, on the other hand, that the Established Church in England was embarrassed and endangered by the existence of a State Church in Ireland; that she shared the reproaches and enmities justly falling upon the other; that she would be free and more powerful than ever upon her own ground when she should be relieved from a burden which dragged her down.

The success of Mr. Gladstone's measure was of a nature to bring about, and did in fact occasion, an appeal to the country. Parliament was dissolved on the 31st of July, and the general elections took place in the month of November. The great question was apparently on the subject of the disestablishment of the Irish Church; in reality, however, the more important



and underlying question to be settled was that of the supremacy of one or the other of the two great parties dividing England, the Conservatives or the Radicals of all shades. In many places, the general expectation was disappointed, and the most unexpected variations in public opinion were manifested. Lancashire, once ardently devoted to the Liberals, returned to the Tories with a zeal that cost his seat to Mr. Gladstone himself; but he had stood also for Greenwich, and was elected there. Lord Hartington, Mr. Stuart Mill, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Milner Gibson, were all unseated. The "workingmen's candidates" were everywhere rejected, whether they were simply persons appealing for the support of the new class of voters, or whether they appeared before the public as themselves members of that class. The purely democratic element found no favor, even among those to whom it owed its growth and power. The Liberal party made a great gain in the new Parliament. The Liberal side was represented by a class of men less advanced in their views and more moderate in their language than their predecessors had been. The majority secured to Mr. Gladstone was, however, overwhelming, and Mr. Disraeli did not attempt to enter upon a conflict. Before the session opened the queen had accepted the resignation of her Cabinet, and had intrusted Mr. Gladstone with the formation of a new ministry. All the strength of the Liberal party rallied around their illustrious chief, called into power just as he was entering his sixtieth year, ardent and vigorous in his conscientious enthusiasm as in the earliest days of his career, carried away sometimes beyond his own convictions by the rising tide of the opinions which served and supported him, and at times mastered him, unconsciously to himself.

The task Mr. Gladstone now proposed to himself, and at once announced to the new Parliament, was one which had weighed, before his time, upon the most robust shoulders. It

was his intention to undertake to govern Ireland in accordance with the ideas and wishes of the Irish themselves; the Irish Church, the question of the tenure of land, and that of university education, were in turn to be the objects of parliamentary consideration and discussion. Both Mr. Pitt and Sir Robert Peel had undertaken tasks analogous to this, more restricted, naturally, and less radical, as both these statesmen were limited by the spirit of their age, and by their own firm judgment. Neither had fully succeeded, yet both had certainly produced great ameliorations in the condition of Ireland.

As might have been expected, the government formed by Mr. Gladstone was one of great strength. Lord Granville was Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Clarendon Foreign Secretary, the Duke of Argyll had the charge of India, Lord Hatherly was Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Bright entered the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Bright had not sought for office, and in a speech made at Birmingham he referred to his new position in terms which plainly indicated his views. "I should have preferred," he said, "to remain in the common rank of the simple citizenship in which heretofore I have lived. There is a charming story contained in a single verse of the Old Testament, which has often struck me as one of great beauty. Many of you will recollect that the prophet, in journeying to and fro, was very hospitably entertained by what is termed in the Bible a Shunammite woman. In return for the hospitality of his entertainment he wished to make some requital, and he called her and asked her what there was that he should do for her. 'Shall I speak for thee to the king or to the captain of the host?' And it has always appeared to me a great answer that the Shunammite woman returned. She said, 'I dwell among my own people.' When the question was put to me whether I would step into the position in which I now find myself, the answer from my heart was the same—'I wish to

dwell among my own people.' ” The independence of the Shunammite was to appear more than once in Mr. Bright's relations with his colleagues, as well as in his public language.

The propositions of government for the disestablishment of the Irish Church were as radical in their scope as they were prompt in their effects. Mr. Gladstone's measure at once destroyed the position of the Irish Church as an establishment, and converted it into an independent Episcopal Church. The Irish bishops lost their seats in the House of Lords. A synodal body, entrusted with the government of the church, was to be chosen from the laity and the clergy, and recognized by the State. The union was dissolved which had heretofore existed between the Churches of England and Ireland. The existing interests of the clergy of the Irish Church were to be suitably appraised and their holders paid off or pensioned. The sums devoted to this purpose were very large; former endowments disappeared with the establishment; and, all claims being satisfied, there remained a considerable fund (about nine millions sterling) in the hands of government. This it was proposed to devote to the relief of “unavoidable calamity and suffering.” The liberty left to government in this matter, and the diversion to general philanthropic purposes of property left or given to the Irish Church, roused, with good reason, serious difficulties in enlightened and equitable minds. The principle was an arbitrary one, and the precedent dangerous.

As formerly upon the question of Roman Catholic emancipation, the bishops were divided in regard to the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The historian of Greece, Bishop Thirlwall, sustained, as he had always done, the liberal principle. The Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Magee, combated the measure with eloquence and enthusiasm. For the last time was heard in the House of Lords the voice of Lord Derby, that voice which skilled judges of parliamentary eloquence were wont to rank



with the most eloquent of the greatest oratorical periods of England. "I am," he said, "an old man ; I have already passed three-score years and ten ; my official life is entirely closed, my political life is nearly so, and in the course of nature, my natural life cannot now be long." He did, in fact, die before the Irish Church had ceased to exist. He had defended it with that pathetic accent vibrating from the edge of the tomb into the very depths of his listeners' hearts. On the 23d of October, 1868, Lord Derby died at Knowsley in Lancashire, the hereditary residence of his illustrious race. He was a veritable English nobleman, occupying himself sincerely and naturally with the government of his country, as a man would with his own personal and domestic affairs ; he wielded power as a right which had cost him nothing, as a duty which he willingly accepted and conscientiously fulfilled. His son succeeded to his authority, in great measure, but not to the sweet and charming influence of his personal character.

In spite of Lord Derby's efforts, and notwithstanding the excitement which prevailed in the House of Lords, Mr. Gladstone's measure passed to the third reading by a considerable majority. Numerous amendments had been attempted, but unsuccessfully. The Upper House yielded with regret before the violence of public opinion, which had free expression on both sides, but preponderated in favor of the measure among the mass of the nation, as it did in the House of Commons. The time fixed for the measure to take effect was in the month of January, 1871.

As soon as Mr. Gladstone had decided the fate of the ecclesiastical institutions of Ireland, he undertook the reconstruction of the relations existing from time immemorial between the Irish landed proprietors and their tenants. These relations were manifestly the result of the ancient conquest, embittered by long neglect on the part of the land-owners, and by the blending of idleness, improvidence and discouragement which often held in



a state of extreme poverty the wretched cultivators of the soil. Great cities are rare in Ireland; manufacturing establishments are but few; hence it arises that the population, almost as a whole, live from the produce of the land in the precarious situation of the farmer who is a tenant-at-will, liable at any time to be ejected without legal remedy or right to indemnity for improvements he may have made during his occupancy. Secret associations, acts of personal violence, the antagonism of the armed band, had been and still were the sole and guilty resource of the Irish peasantry against a tyranny which they sought to weaken by individual terrorism.

In Ulster alone, where the Scottish Protestant emigrants had made their home, the customs which they had brought with them ameliorated the condition of things, although no difference existed in the laws regulating the relations of owner and tenant. In this favored country the tenants were in the position of farmers protected by a long lease. They were never dispossessed, so long as they continued to pay their rent. On giving up the land, they had a right to compensation for the improvements they had made. They even were allowed, with the authorization of the proprietor, to make over their rights to another. The condition of the farmers in Ulster was an object of envy to every intelligent and reasonable Irish peasant. Under the influence of this system, the industry of the farmers and the prosperity of the district had developed in equal measure. Mr. Gladstone cherished a hope of seeing the same progress inaugurated throughout Ireland. He adopted as the foundation of his new measures the principle of reciprocal rights between the land-owner and the tenants, as recognized in the county of Ulster. The Irish peasantry did not in all cases desire a change which would, at many points, raise the rent while it protected the rent-payer. The habits of foresight and systematic labor, hereditary among the descendants of the Scot-

tish Protestants, were rarely to be met in the other counties of Ireland. The great land-owners lived for the most part out of the country, strangers to the Irish life as they were in origin foreign to the Irish race, and spending in England or on the continent the meagre revenues which their agents wrung from the peasantry. These agents, on their part, were hostile to any modification in the state of things which would diminish their often despotic authority and reduce their personal gains. Too often the land-owners shared the views of their agents. More than one maintained, with Lord Palmerston, that "tenant-right is landlords' wrong." Mr. Gladstone made no allowance for this conflict of interests and views existing in Ireland. He attacked the land question as resolutely as he had attacked the question of the Irish Church. The tenant-right of Ulster was made the law throughout Ireland, with this modification, that the owners were permitted to settle for themselves certain points in their relations to their tenants. This clause gave anxiety to the more zealous of the Irish reformers, and did, in fact, cause great suffering among the small farmers, ignorant of their rights or indifferent to them, and destitute of means, with whom the proprietors refused to deal upon the new bases. The bill, however, was not seriously opposed by the Conservatives; only a few votes were against it at the second reading. An amendment moved by Mr. Disraeli was defeated by a considerable majority; and the House of Lords as well as the House of Commons adopted the measure after prolonged and serious discussion in committee, but without violence in the open debates. August 1, 1870, the bill received the royal assent and became law.

The system of education alone remained to be discussed. The Irish Church had been dispossessed; the tenant-right question had been re-adjusted, not without agitation, but without violent shock; and Mr. Gladstone advanced triumphantly from one reform to another. He believed the time was come to

undertake the subject of popular education in England, and that of national instruction in Ireland, an intellectual work, if ever such there were, and touching no material interest. There, however, lay the danger, the first step towards weakness and fall. Neither Mr. Gladstone nor the Liberals had any idea of this. Mr. Forster's bill, providing for public elementary instruction in England and Wales, was presented February 17, 1870. It was not until three years later that the measure in respect to Irish University Education was brought before the House, and caused by its defeat the overthrow of the Liberal Administration. Meantime public opinion was destined to undergo profound modifications, and public interest to be turned into other channels.

While the English Parliament was yet discussing the Irish Land Bill, war, long threatening between Prussia and France, had broken out, — a war frivolous in its pretexts, inconsiderate and imprudent in its origin, and, from the first, disastrous to one of the belligerents. The Second Empire — imposed upon France by a *coup d'état* as bold as it was unscrupulous, accepted through lassitude and love of repose — had long deceived France and all Europe by an outward show of proud strength and prosperity. Suddenly, as by some unforeseen stage-trick, it fell before a foreign army, dragging down France in its own ruin. A third time the Bonaparte name and the principle of absolutism brought invasion upon France and unspeakable patriotic humiliation. The Emperor Napoleon III. was a prisoner in Germany, and the power which had risen upon the ruins of the empire, calling itself the Government of the National Defence, gathered around it all efforts, however hostile men's hearts might be to its origin and to a portion of the elements composing it.

England's first sentiment had been, and justly, opposed to the imperial policy. War had been declared by France upon pre-



texts unworthy of a great nation and its sovereign. It had been entered upon with a levity and improvidence whose bitter fruits the nation was soon obliged to gather. The success of Prussia in 1866 had already modified public opinion in England in respect to the worth of the Prussian army and the political skill of Prussian councils. Royal alliances had their weight in the popular balance as well as in the hearts of the rulers of the two nations.

When, however, a series of disasters had scattered the French armies and all serious resistance was concentrated in Paris, besieged by the enemy, the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon this intellectual capital of the world, this centre of pleasure and of agreeable civilization, now the theatre of patriotic sufferings and of the patient courage of an immense population, animated by the same spirit of indomitable resolution. And now all charitable effort and generous sympathy on the part of England were directed towards Paris and France, the noblest impulses actuating the hearts of all, the English government alone remaining inert and apparently indifferent to the great struggle which was breaking down the balance of power in Europe. Inconsiderate and inefficient, it seemed wholly occupied in guarding the English frontier, already sufficiently protected by nature against the evils which were desolating France. Eager to strengthen the treaty obligations which pledged the great Powers to maintain the neutrality of Belgium, now believed to be menaced by the ambitious views of the Emperor Napoleon and by the schemes of Count Bismarck, — constrained also to yield to the demands of Prussia, who profited by the critical situation of Europe to modify the treaty of Paris and destroy the neutrality of the Black Sea, Mr. Gladstone and the English government remained deaf to the most weighty and serious appeals of that large-minded and wise policy which had formerly established the English power in Europe. In January, 1871, M.





M. GUIZOT.



Guizot wrote to Mr. Gladstone, setting forth, in a letter afterwards made public, the interest that England had in European questions, the share that she ought to take in them, and the rôle that she was able to fill.

“Without question, the events which have been taking place in Europe during the last few years, and the struggle between France and Prussia which has arisen out of them, are facts sufficiently grave and weighty to attract towards her foreign policy all the attention and all the energy of England. Is this equivalent to saying that she is necessarily called to take a part in the war and to unite her armies with those of the continent already engaged in strife? I am far from the thought! It is not in carrying on war, it is, on the contrary, in bringing war to an end, that the mission of England to-day consists. She is not obliged, as formerly, to recruit armies, to form and maintain coalitions, for the purpose of repelling and even of destroying a hostile army and an aggressive and powerful sovereign. Of the two present belligerents, the one who declared war has fallen; he who now pushes war to an extreme has long been in the most friendly relations towards England; she decided in his favor at the beginning of the conflict, and she ought, therefore, to have the more influence in persuading him to bring it to a close. The situation, the motives of action, the aim,—all is radically different to-day from that which, sixty years ago, determined the conduct of England. She has now infinitely less effort to make, less risks to run to attain an end infinitely less complicated, less contested, than that which she then sought, and yet one which will be, beyond doubt, no less salutary for Europe. It is in the interests of peace that England now ought to form a coalition of the great Powers who at this moment, Prussia alone excepted, have no other ambition than the restoration of peace.

“But it may be said, that efficacious measures cannot be

employed by a government acting with sincerity to re-establish peace between belligerents when that government does not feel itself obliged to go so far as actual coercion, when, in a military sense, it desires to remain neutral? Have we then been so dominated, so subjugated by material force, either in the form of popular revolutions or of military despotism, that we have lost all confidence in the moral influences, in the authority of ideas of right, of justice, of humanity, when these influences, these ideas, have only pacific representatives? Can it be possible that these sublime ideas no longer have authority? Is it fitting that a great people and a great government should recognize and declare that it can do nothing, when it does not stand ready to dispatch its fleets and its armies to the scene where it desires to exercise its power? It would be a great retrogression for mankind, a great disgrace to our civilization, so proud of its progress. I do not admit this nullity of moral influences, and it is my profound conviction that he who learns how to employ them opportunely, with confidence, energy and perseverance, will find therein a power more efficacious than he perhaps himself expected.

“I will allow myself, my dear Mr. Gladstone, to bring to your notice on this subject an individual and contemporary example which I am able to cite with certainty, for it passed under my own observation, and I know well the man of whom I speak and the circumstances in which he was called to act. When, on the eve of our disasters, General Trochu was appointed Governor of Paris, he had for such a duty in such a position of affairs no material force, no organized means of action. He, however, succeeded; he drew Paris out of chaos and nothingness; he made of her a living and powerful entity, devoted to the great work of national defence. How was General Trochu able to obtain a result like this? It was because he believed in moral forces; it was because, in the name of duty and right, of honor, and of



the country, he made appeal daily, in every act and every word, to the population of Paris. They responded to his confidence, they regained confidence in themselves; under this pure and brave inspiration, material strength was recovered, and Paris endured for four months the trials of a siege which, four months before, neither besiegers nor besieged would have deemed it possible for her to support.

“I cannot, I will not believe that Europe, Prussia included, will be more deaf to the voice of England, armed with moral influences, than was Paris to that of General Trochu. But it is not with timidity and hesitation, with a low voice and an air of doubt that the moral influences should and can be exerted. It is essential that those who interpret them should feel strongly and maintain boldly their worth and their authority. It is in the name of international equity, of justice, of humanity, in the name of the illegitimacy of the spirit of aggression and conquest that the present war should be censured and peace demanded. England has need to make use of this firm and noble language. Let her not deceive herself on this subject; she is suspected of being always inclined to take undue advantage of her geographical security, and to see with indifference the wars and sufferings of the continent, so long as she is not evidently and directly menaced by them. Egotism, an egotism overpassing the needs and rights of national self-interest, is the reproach habitually made against her policy, and her influence often suffers by it as much as does her moral honor. How often has it been said of late: ‘Prussia may do what she pleases, England will not interpose.’ But precisely because of this general opinion, as soon as England shall act distinctly, her action will be efficacious, for, if she is believed egotistic, it is also believed that she is in earnest, and if her government take any action in the case, that action will not be insignificant in its results.

“Let not England fear, then, that unless she interposes with

material force in the present war, her action in behalf of peace would be in vain. After having firmly employed the moral influences and developed them to the utmost, if they prove insufficient to restrain the ambition of Prussia, England will still hold in her hands another measure of great weight; she will be able to declare that, if conditions irreconcilable with a real and lasting peace should be imposed upon France, the English government will not recognize the changes of frontier arising from such conditions, and will not give her consent to a European order thus rendered more than ever troubled and insecure. Who can doubt that an act like this would be a great obstacle in the way of Prussian ambition, and a great encouragement to French resistance? In 1831, when the Belgian question engrossed the attention of Europe, if Austria and Prussia, without offering material resistance to the separation of Belgium and Holland, had refused to recognize the existence of the two kingdoms, is it credible that France and England, even though agreed, would not have experienced extreme difficulty in re-establishing a durable European peace and order? These are questions which cannot be truly settled without the consent of all Europe. England is in a position to declare, without effort and without danger to herself, that she will not regard the question now at issue between France and Prussia as decided, so long as the belligerents do not accept a solution which re-establishes and truly secures peace. I do not attempt to indicate here upon what precise terms such a peace is to-day possible between France and Prussia. Special questions, questions of the moment, exist therein which it would be unwise to enter upon in advance, since they can only be treated by the persons appointed to represent the contradictory interests of both sides, and fully informed in respect to the circumstances under stress of which the negotiations would be conducted. I desire only to call the attention of the friends of peace to the two great princi-

ples which would be powerful, were they resolutely put in practice, to second them in their pacific intentions, and to remove the most serious difficulties which weigh upon them.

"History has already accepted the task of proving the efficiency of one of these ideas. When two powerful nations have long disputed the possession of a territory important by its geographical position, its population, its wealth, — when this country has been many times taken and re-taken by the belligerents, never definitively acquired by either, and continually compromising the general peace, Europe has finally resolved to put an end to this situation by declaring the territory thus contested neutral, and placing its neutrality under the protection of the Great European Powers. It is thus that Switzerland and Belgium have become neutral states, no longer incessantly ravaged, no longer an apple of discord in European politics. This salutary principle of neutrality is susceptible of applications much more numerous and more varied than it has hitherto received.

"When, in 1831, the neutrality of Belgium was established, guaranteed by the five great Powers, it was determined to give a visible sign and a further pledge of this, by ordering the demolition of the principal fortresses constructed in Belgium against France. By the convention of December 16, 1831, the fortified towns, Menin, Ath, Mons, Philippeville and Marienbourg were accordingly dismantled, and all munitions and military stores withdrawn from them. Why should not two States establish between them, in a certain portion of the territory of each, a military neutrality, that is to say, the prohibition of all fortified places, arsenals and munitions, each at the same time preserving full and free political sway over the territory? Why should not, for example, the two banks of the Rhine cease to be, for France and Prussia, a perpetual menace and instrument of war, by each nation's relinquishing the right to cover a certain length and breadth of territory with fortresses and guns? Doubtless, in



order to have such an agreement equitable and efficient, it would be necessary to have it reciprocal, — Mayence and Landau must be dismantled as well as Strasburg and Metz ; and this would be the most certain token that France and Prussia were both sincerely desirous of a durable peace. And although by reason of our late reverses, this special neutrality of the banks of the Rhine would remain for some time incomplete and unequal, still, its adoption in principle, and the strength that it would receive from the guarantee of the other Powers, would not fail to have great weight. No one assumes to render war impossible ; what we can do is to make it more difficult, and, where it is unjust, to make its injustice more manifest ; this is the maximum of human power and wisdom.

“The second idea — I ought rather to say the second pacific force — to which I wish to call your attention, my dear Mr. Gladstone, is the idea of the European balance of power, and of the influence of congresses or conferences of the great Powers in defending or establishing this equilibrium. It is hard for reasonable and clear-sighted men to suppress a smile when they see with what disdain many people, even those of much intelligence, speak at the present day of the European balance of power, treating it as a vain chimera. Since when, then, has it been required that a principle should always keep its promises, and a thing be done perfectly, before any merit be acknowledged or any good results recognized ? Since when have good and evil ceased to be intimately blended in this world, and the good often defeated on some given day, while yet, on the whole and in the end, the good has triumphed over the evil ? It is certain that during the last four hundred years, that is to say, since the idea of a balance of power in Europe has entered into our history, European society, despite its errors and its crimes, its disturbances and its misfortunes, is by no means in a state of decadence ; it has been and is, upon the whole, much



less a prey to violence and to chance, than it was during the previous centuries; it is better regulated, more prosperous, more firm in its advance towards justice for all, the well-being of all, towards that which we call, and rightly, general civilization. What has been the share in this progress of the principle of the European equilibrium, and the influence of European congresses gathered in its interest? I do not attempt to determine the question; I will only recall some historic facts, which may throw light upon it.

“After our religious wars of the sixteenth century, it was the concert between France and England, between Henry IV. and Queen Elizabeth, — it was the great reign and the “Great Plan” of Henry IV. which saved Europe from falling under the gloomy tyranny of Philip II., which laid the foundations of religious liberty in France, and made the balance even between France and Austria. In the middle of the seventeenth century, it was the Congress of Westphalia which established in Germany the peace between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and crowned the success of Richelieu’s labor for the security and grandeur of France. In 1712, the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was the renewed concert between France and England at the Conferences of Utrecht, that restored peace to Europe, repressing the ambition and pride of Louis XIV., without humiliating France. Lastly, in our own days, after our revolutionary shocks and the conquering despotism of Napoleon, it was the Congress of Vienna which restored to their places, so to speak, the principal members of the European body, and secured to the nations of Europe forty years of a repose which, notwithstanding its afflictive events, has not been without life and progress. Let it be admitted that all these Congresses, these reconstructions of the European equilibrium, have been full of omissions and of faults, that unworthy concessions and ignoble passions have had a large place in them; I am as

much aware of this as any man can be; but I am equally convinced that the European equilibrium is and remains in principle a just, rational, and liberal idea, and that, upon the whole, its results have been extremely salutary in regard to the progress as well as to the peace of European society.

“Undertake, my dear Mr. Gladstone, the cause of the European equilibrium and of European peace; defend it against the ambition and love of conquest now manifested. To do this has been in past ages the natural, historic, and illustrious rôle of England. For fifteen years you have had France for an adversary in this great strife; you will have her henceforward — I ought indeed to say you have her now — for an ally. Modern France has passed through her fever of ambition and conquest. She has paid dear for it, and for her, destiny is yet severe; the pain returns though the fever is gone, and the error seems to recur for a moment, only to prove that France will no more of it. There are still, I confess, in this quick-tempered and impetuous nation traces of its former inclinations and its former errors; it still easily allows itself to be tempted by brilliant novelties, by military reputation and glory. And still, this is not its true bias nor its true aim; it is the movement still agitating the surface of the ocean after a storm. What France to-day seriously desires is peace, and a free and fruitful scope for her own domestic activities. It is a land of assiduous labor, — agricultural, industrial, commercial, — of a civilization at once scientific and practical, animated and tranquil. It eagerly desires to gather the fruits of the experiences through which it has passed, and of the institutions towards which, for three-quarters of a century, it has incessantly aspired without being really able to practise and preserve them. In this path England is its natural and most useful ally, and it is towards the English alliance, notwithstanding all memories of strife and rivalry, that the various governments which have

had any claim to durability in France since 1815, have always turned. This was to be expected from the Restoration; it owed much to you, and it remembered with dignity and independence its obligations. The government of 1830 owed you nothing; it made, nevertheless, the English alliance the habitual characteristic of its foreign policy; and when, in the affair of Egypt and in that of Spain, it deviated from this line of conduct, France did not design to abandon it definitively, and made haste to return to it at the earliest moment. Even the Second Empire, notwithstanding many causes were contradictory and many feeble attempts were made at diplomatic conspiracies, also desired England as an ally. In almost all the great questions which have arisen, and the great events which have occurred, during this period, the two nations have walked together and acted in concert; after having, in 1827, protected Greece against Turkey, in 1854 they protected Turkey against Russia, and their flags were united at Sebastopol as at Navarino. From 1830 to 1833, they united in establishing the kingdom of Belgium; together they have maintained the independence of Switzerland and of Italy, and have assisted in the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in Spain and Portugal.

“ These facts have been by no means accidents, momentary impulses on the part of the different governments; they have been the natural and necessary result of the true interest and the deepest instincts of the two nations. They are not obliged to require great sacrifices from each other, and they are able to do each other great services. You see it yourself: France, it is true, has become a lover of peace, but her pride and valor have not been lessened; she manifests in defence the same ardor, the same heroic courage that she once showed in attack; painful as is her position at this moment, she is not a troublesome ally nor one difficult to sustain. Let the two nations be well agreed;



let them mutually feel the worth of their united strength, moral and material, and they will secure tranquillity to Europe and their own prosperity; they will acquire glory of a new kind, which will cost contemporary generations neither blood nor tears, and they will leave to future generations a heritage good to receive, for it will not be laden with violent national hatreds and desires for vengeance."

The effort was in vain. The English government did not understand the great work that M. Guizot pointed out to them, the great place that they might secure in Europe for their country. Vaguely, confusedly, without great national ardor, England caught a glimpse of that which her government refused through weakness and a patriotic egotism as inconsiderate as it was selfish. The English government allowed France to be dismembered. English generosity exerted itself vainly to relieve the material wants which keenly excited national sympathy. The hour for efficient and powerful action went by. European preponderance had been once more within the grasp of England. Holding herself apart in her island she suffered it to escape her. Prudence is sometimes blind, and courage has its moments of unexpected timidity. Mr. Gladstone unhesitatingly shook to its foundations and modified the constitution of Great Britain. Venturesome even to rashness at home, he remained powerless and inactive in presence of extreme crises in European policy. He left France alone against Prussia, struggling and suffering with resolution and courage, amid the most frightful interior and exterior perils. Slowly rising from her disasters, painfully and with difficulty defending herself from her domestic foes, France stands at last upon her feet, and still relies upon that recuperative power which God has bestowed upon her—a power she has so often manifested amid the most afflicting reverses.

Labor upon great domestic reforms was not, meanwhile,



slackened in England. For the first time, the English government entered upon the path of a serious attention to the necessity of public instruction. The Anglican Church, the dissenting sects, the landed proprietors, had labored long in this vast field; a great portion of it, however, still remained neglected; notwithstanding the assistance of the State, two-thirds of the children in Great Britain were, it was said, absolutely without instruction. From this time, the State extended over them its powerful hand, and England adopted, in spite of herself and of all her former prejudices, the system that had for many years prevailed more or less widely among the nations of the Continent. It was proposed to establish a system of School Boards in England and Wales, each Board being authorized to establish its own regulations, for the purpose of obliging all the children of the district between five and ten years of age to attend school. Government was reluctant to establish a system of compulsory education, and, on certain conditions, the schools already existing were recognized as institutions aided by the State, being submitted to the examination of an undenominational inspector. A special clause, protecting liberty of conscience, was also to make part of their regulations. Where the poverty of the population manifestly required it, free schools were to be maintained.

The principle adopted by Mr. Forster tended to admit at the outset to the number of schools aided by the State those already established under the patronage of the Anglican Church, of dissenters, and of Roman Catholics. The religious instruction given in these schools was to be of a nature to give offence to no conscience. But Mr. Forster soon perceived that his precautions had not been sufficient. The dissenting sects protested unanimously against religious instruction of any kind being given in schools receiving aid from the State. It was their wish that only secular instruction should be furnished by these

schools, leaving all religious training to home influences and to expressly religious teachers. This cause had the singular fortune to be advocated by the most ardent religious believers, persons the strictest both in faith and practice, and, on the other hand, by free-thinkers, anxious to remove their children from all religious influences whatever. A very large portion of the community, however, were opposed to these views, holding that no education was complete and useful unless religious teaching accompanied and guided it.

The violent opposition of the dissenters more than once obliged the government to fall back for support upon the Conservatives in order to secure the success of the measure; this opposition weakened the ranks of the Liberals, and impaired Mr. Gladstone's authority with his own party; but it did not succeed in banishing all religious instruction from the schools of a nation Christian both in principle and profession. The bill passed by a large majority in both Houses. The earlier School Boards were made up from the most eminent men of each district. Women were also eligible to this position and, in many cases, filled it. Popular instruction, in becoming a national institution, became a national care; the principles on which the law rested were, in the main, sound, and the bases of education solid; the germs of new progress were sown broadcast. The struggle did not, however, end; the partisans of distinct religious instruction in schools, and the partisans of a purely secular education, still held their ground with ardor. The compromise which Mr. Gladstone's government had accepted was powerless to appease religious animosities and conscientious scruples; yet once more, and on a point of importance, the great chief of the Liberal party had put his hand to a work which he was not able to carry out to completion. He continued his advance, however, bringing forward new ideas, shaking long-established prejudices and ancient institutions, sometimes rash in his undertakings and more con-

siderate of the rights of the future than of those of the past, but always useful, efficient, and animated by a sincere and passionate zeal for the right, whatever might be his errors and his lack of foresight in moving toward his aim.

In an affair of importance, public sentiment had reason to accuse the reforming minister of allowing himself to be carried away by his ardor beyond the legitimate limits of his authority. It was impossible that the army should escape Mr. Gladstone's reforms. The secretary of war, Mr. Cardwell, presented a plan for the general reconstruction of the regular army, the militia, the volunteers and the reserve, placing them for the future under the same discipline. A fundamental change was at the same time proposed in the method of officers' promotion, abolishing the sale of commissions among the officers themselves, and regulating promotion in accordance with personal merit. The established custom had come to be recognized in England as conducive to the high character of the service, since it effectually barred promotion to the lower classes of society. Prejudice and sincere conviction were leagued together against Mr. Cardwell's projected reforms, and he found himself obliged to sacrifice the larger portion of them, retaining only that which concerned the method of promotion. After a violent struggle the bill passed in the House of Commons, but the majority was small. In the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond acting as spokesman of the Conservative party, proposed an amendment, declaring that the Upper House was unwilling to agree to the measure till a complete and comprehensive scheme of army reorganization should have been laid before it. The duke's amendment was adopted and the subject thus postponed to a future period. It was undoubtedly the right, as it had always been the practice of the House of Lords, to leave to public opinion the time to enlighten itself and free itself from passion in the matter of an important reform proposed by bold innovators. The delay which

would have been imposed upon the measure was not long; but the determination to carry his point and the passion for reform had seized upon the mind of the premier; he had recourse to an expedient, at once ingenious and rash. The sale of grades in the army had been regulated by the crown, a minimum price being fixed, which was always far exceeded by the real price in the actual transaction. The same power which had authorized was competent to interdict; Mr. Gladstone announced that he had advised her Majesty to cancel all regulations made by herself or any of her predecessors authorizing the purchase or sale of commissions in the army. A royal warrant was issued to this effect, to go into force on the 1st of November, 1871. The question was thus suddenly and definitively decided by an act of royal authority, technically and strictly legitimate, it is true, but contrary to the habitual practice as to the fundamental principles of a free government. The opposition gained a new weapon against Mr. Gladstone; and among serious and sincerely liberal men, even of his own party, the prime minister was severely judged; a slow change began to work in the state of public opinion, and the local elections began to be favorable to the Conservative party.

The ballot question had for years agitated the House of Commons. It was asserted that the political influence of the upper classes, an influence legitimate and useful to the country, would be completely undermined by the proposed plan of secret, instead of public voting as heretofore; on the other hand, it was urged that corruption and intimidation, as well as the disgraceful scenes of violence common at elections, would be rendered impossible under the new plan. The new elements introduced into the electoral system by the Reform Bill had not yet had time clearly to manifest their scope and tendencies, and already there was exhibited an eagerness to proceed further along this dark and unexplored path.



The secret ballot was a fatal blow to natural influences, and the Conservative party opposed it resolutely. Among the Liberals themselves objections to it were numerous and serious. The discussion was prolonged intentionally, and the final disposal of the question was left over till the following year. When at last Mr. Gladstone's persistency carried it, over the secret reluctance of many of the Liberal party and the declared opposition of the Conservatives, the measure was accepted only as an experiment, and its action limited to a period of eight years, that is, the close of the year 1880, a satisfaction easily granted to regrets and scruples, but of little consequence in itself, and involving no serious results. It was one step more in that rapid march which is hurrying even England herself towards the reign of a pure democracy. A superficial and momentary excitement seemed at that time to precipitate the coming of this transformation in the social condition and in the public opinion of England. As usual, the action of France was making itself felt; a republic had been established upon the ruins of the empire as the sole form of government which could rally around it the forces of the diverse parties, all interested in the restoration of the sick and enfeebled country. Entrusted once more to skilful and wise hands, the new régime seemed indeed to bring forth fruits of pacification and prosperity. The criminal attempts of the Commune had been suppressed; labor and economy were resuming their sway. The English Radicals ascribed the honor of these renewed elements of prosperity to the republican form of government. For the first time since the Restoration, monarchy, as an institution, was attacked in an indirect manner in the Parliament of England. Sir Charles Dilke asked for an inquiry into the employment of the revenues of the Crown. He did not limit himself to this parliamentary proposition, supported by two of his colleagues; for many months he had been travelling through the north of England,

from county to county, presiding at popular meetings, and repeating to the crowds who gathered to hear him that royalty was for a nation an expensive toy, an extravagant luxury. Just at this time, the serious illness of the Prince of Wales, and the general anxiety caused thereby, had the effect of reviving the instincts of loyalty in hearts till then believed inaccessible to such an emotion. The attacks made by Sir Charles Dilke were received in the House of Commons with a storm of indignation and anger. Mr. Gladstone launched all the thunder of his eloquence against the audacious person who had dared to raise a question contrary to all the principles of the English constitution, hateful to the larger part of his audience, inopportune and premature, even in the judgment of those who, in theory, agreed with him. For the time, and for several years to come, Sir Charles Dilke and his friends were constrained to silence. "I hope and believe it will be a long time," wrote Mr. Bright to a person who asked his opinion, "before we are asked to give our opinion on the question of monarchy or republicanism. Our ancestors decided the matter a good while since, and I would suggest that you and I should leave any further decision to our posterity."

Agitation was not, however, stifled everywhere. The sufferings of the agricultural laborers now began to occupy public attention. The miseries of this class seemed to be increasing. For the first time, at the instigation of certain agitators sprung from their own ranks, the cultivators of the soil began to gather in threatening masses, and agricultural strikes were organized in different parts of England. All persons at this time complaining had not so legitimate grievances as the unhappy tillers of the ground. One of Mr. Gladstone's reforms limited the number of drinking-shops, reduced the hours of sale, and increased the penalties for drunkenness. The liquor-sellers protested in a body against this governmental tyranny. Ireland did not feel





G. Cook, Sculp.

H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

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satisfied with the reforms which had been made by Mr. Gladstone in her condition. Henceforth, the Protestants of Ireland were the leaders of the discontent, displeased with the measures that had despoiled their church, and with the decisive authority wielded in their affairs by the British Parliament. They were now in accord with the national Irish party who clamored for the government of Ireland by Ireland (Home Rule), so long the object of the fears and hopes of Irish patriots. Storms of every nature gathered in the horizon. The country was growing weary of the rapid reforms which the untiring energy of the great reform minister had laid upon them, and felt the need of pausing to take breath. Mr. Gladstone did not permit it. He had devised a further remedy to apply to the woes of Ireland. On the 13th of February, 1873, he introduced a measure for settling the question of university education in Ireland. A reform had been introduced into the régime of the English Universities, which was as useful as it was equitable. The religious test, which had closed to all dissenters the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, had been suppressed. All could henceforth profit by the same instruction and compete for the same honors and rewards. Mr. Gladstone's desire for equality and uniformity extended farther in relation to Ireland.

Two universities existed in Ireland, — that of Dublin, a strictly Protestant institution, and the Queen's University, where the instruction was exclusively secular. The Roman Catholics, five-sixths of the population of Ireland, were in the position of being, as such, excluded from one university, and, the heads of their church condemning the principle of secular instructions, they were debarred by their own convictions from entering the other. They therefore claimed the establishment of a Roman Catholic University. Mr. Gladstone proposed to centralize all the existing colleges, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, around the University of Dublin, each college mak-

ing laws for its own government, and having the right to send members in proportion to its number of pupils to the governing council of the university. The university itself would not only give diplomas but also maintain chairs of instruction, — theology, moral philosophy and modern history being excepted, in order to maintain its strictly neutral position in matters of religion. The income of the university was to be derived from the revenues of Trinity College, Dublin, a very wealthy Protestant foundation, from the fund remaining after the disestablishment, and from students' fees.

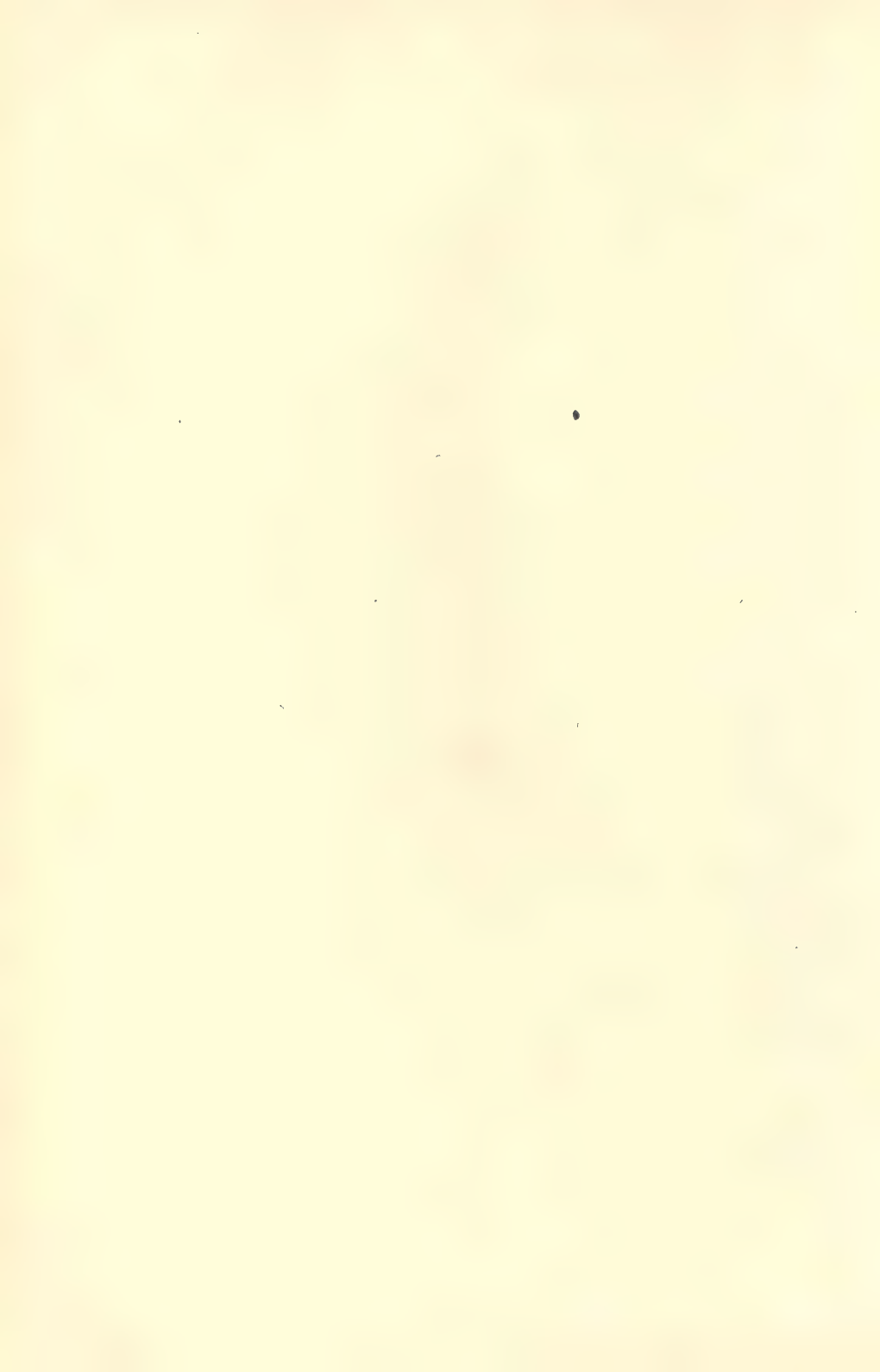
The plan was both complicated and revolutionary. It destroyed ancient and honored institutions, without satisfying the real wishes of either party. The senate of the University of Dublin condemned Mr. Gladstone's project as decidedly as did the Roman Catholic bishops. Dissenters, as usual, exclaimed against the design of spending the State's money upon denominational education. Objections rained down upon it from all quarters, bitter and passionate on the part of those very Irish for whom Mr. Gladstone had so many times endangered his authority, and whose cause he was about to defend once more with the last efforts of his eloquence. Mr. Disraeli made a violent attack upon the new scheme, and the certainty of triumph rang in his words. Mr. Gladstone felt himself defeated. He expressed the poignant regret that he felt in separating from his Irish friends, with whom he had so long worked successfully. It was, in fact, the votes of the Irish members which wrought his downfall. The measure was defeated by a majority of three; it was, however, defeated. The great liberal union which had since its accession to power changed the face of England by its reforms, fell to pieces before a secondary question, which it was difficult to make the country understand.

Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues resigned office (March, 1873), and the queen sent for Mr. Disraeli; but the latter declining to

accept office with the existing House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone consented to return. In the autumn, some elections were favorable to the Conservative party. Various changes took place in the Cabinet, and symptoms of weakness and discord were plainly to be observed. The new year opened. Parliament had been summoned for the 5th of February, when suddenly and unexpectedly, Mr. Gladstone decided upon a dissolution, with the view of testing the sentiments of the country.

The general elections at once proved the change that had taken place in the public mind. In 1868, the elections had secured to the Liberals a majority of a hundred and twenty votes. In 1874, the estimates most favorable to the ministry indicated a Conservative majority of fifty. Mr. Gladstone did not wait to put his inferiority to the proof; he at once resigned, as Mr. Disraeli had done six years before. The great Liberal administration fell, less wearied than was the country by its long-continued and mighty exertions, enfeebled, however, in its hidden springs. In its foreign and European policy it had more than once disappointed English pride and enthusiasm; in its home administration it had frequently been in advance of popular wants and national aspirations. It was destined, however, to leave behind it deep and lasting traces. Amid many errors and grave faults, it had labored conscientiously to remedy evils and to found useful institutions. It had been serious and sincere; and rivals and enemies themselves will not dispute its title to the honor posterity will decree it.

THE END.





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